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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and [illegible] best illustrate the [illegible] of the slaveholders and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

PROCLAMATION.

[illegible]

Whereas the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the Constitution of the United States declares that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion and domestic violence; and whereas the President of the United States is by the Constitution made Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, as well as chief civil executive officer of the United States, and is bound by solemn oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States, and to take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and whereas the rebellion which has been waged by a portion of the people of the United States against the properly-constituted authorities of the government thereof, in the most violent and revolting form, but whose organized and armed forces have now been almost entirely overcome, has, in its revolutionary progress, deprived the people of the State of Mississippi of all civil government; and whereas it becomes necessary and proper to carry out and enforce the obligations of the United States to the people of Mississippi in securing the enjoyment of a republican form of government:

Now, therefore, in obedience to the high and solemn duties imposed upon me by the Constitution of the United States, and for the purpose of enabling the loyal people of said State to organize a State government, whereby justice may be established, domestic tranquillity insured, and loyal citizens protected in all their rights of life, liberty, and property, I, ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, do hereby appoint William L. Sharkey, of Mississippi, Provisional Governor of the State of Mississippi, whose duty it shall be, at the earliest practicable period, to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper for convening a convention, composed of delegates to be chosen by that portion of the people of said State who are loyal to the United States, and no others, for the purpose of altering or amending the Constitution thereof; and with authority to exercise, within the limits of said State, all the powers necessary and proper to enable such loyal people of the State of Mississippi to restore said State to its constitutional relations to the Federal government, and to present such republican form of State government as will entitle the State to the guarantee of the United States therefor, and its people to protection by the United States against invasion, insurrection, and domestic violence: *Provided*, That in any election that may be hereafter held for choosing delegates to any State Convention as aforesaid, no person shall be qualified as an elector, or shall be eligible as a member of such convention, unless he shall have previously taken and subscribed the oath of amnesty, as set forth in the President's proclamation of May 29, A. D. 1865, and is a voter qualified as prescribed by the Constitution and laws of the State of Mississippi, in force immediately before the ninth (9th) of January, A. D. 1861, the date of the so-called ordinance of secession; and the said convention, when convened, or the Legislature that may be thereafter assembled, will prescribe the qualification of electors, and the eligibility of persons to hold office under the Constitution and laws of the State, a power the people of the several States composing the Federal Union have rightfully exercised from the origin of the government to the present time.

AND I DO HEREBY DIRECT—

First. That the Military Commander of the Department, and all officers and persons in military and naval service, aid and assist the said Provisional Governor in carrying into effect this proclamation, and they are enjoined to abstain from, in any way, hindering, impeding, or discouraging the loyal people from the organization of a State government, as herein authorized.

Second. That the Secretary of State proceed to put in force all laws of the United States, the administration whereof belongs to the State Department, applicable to the geographical limits aforesaid.

Third. That the Secretary of the Treasury proceed to nominate, for appointment, assessors of taxes and collectors of customs and internal revenue, and such other officers of the Treasury Department as are authorized by law, and put in execution the revenue laws of the United States within the geographical limits aforesaid. In making appointments, the preference shall be given to qualified loyal persons residing within the districts where their respective duties are to be performed. But if suitable residents of the district shall not be found, then persons residing in other States or districts shall be appointed.

Fourth. That the Postmaster-General proceed to establish post offices and post routes, and put into execution the postal laws of the United States within the said State, giving to loyal residents the preference of appointment; but if suitable residents are not found, then to appoint agents, etc., from other States.

Fifth. That the District Judge for the judicial district in which Mississippi is included proceed to hold courts within said State, in accordance with the provisions of the act of Congress. The Attorney-General will instruct the proper officers to libel, and bring to judgment, confiscation, and sale, property subject to confiscation, and enforce the administration of justice within said State in all matters within the cognizance and jurisdiction of the Federal courts.

Sixth. That the Secretary of the Navy take possession of all public property belonging to the Navy Department, within said geographical limits, and put in operation all acts of Congress in relation to naval affairs, having application to the said State.

Seventh. That the Secretary of the Interior put in force the laws relating to the Interior Department, applicable to the geographical limits aforesaid.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this thirteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

THE *Universe* of Philadelphia, has in its last number the following significant article:

"The negro is clearly a curse to America.

"It is evident that, fundamentally speaking, it would be a violation of things to make a citizen of the negro. The reason of this truth is found in the difference between the negro and the white. The prejudice of color may be shamefully intensified by odious causes: but this prejudice in the white for the black has been planted by nature itself; and it is undoubted that, in the majority of instances, the negrophilists have gone to unfortunate extremes in extirpating it. Abolitionism has led to many unfortunate excesses. The negro race is evidently under the ban of nature. Is there any obligation on the white race to try to undo this ban—to the degree of making perfect political equality between the two races? Do the interests of the white require such an act? Do the honor, greatness, and power, and perpetuity of the country demand it? The proper answers to these questions are decided negatives. The duty of the white to the negro is to pay him for his labor; the white can secure no true advantage in making the negro his political equal; and the country has no need whatever of negro suffrage.

"The Irish citizens will be called upon to exercise their great influence in this matter. They will exercise it patriotically. Treason and Abolitionism were the causes of the last war. When they both were full, the war burst forth. But Abolitionism would have been full much sooner than it was only for the barrier the Irish vote placed before it. A similar thing will take place now. Against negro suffrage will stand the Irish suffrage, guarded by the Constitution, and the opposition will serve to close forever, [illegible] a thing which is at once a violent [illegible] to the Republic."

THE TRUE MEANING OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

From the Chicago Times.

Apart from the constitutional rights of States in the matter of withholding or giving the right of suffrage, the question of enfranchising negroes is simply one of race. It is fortunate that [illegible] no right to interfere. Each State provides who shall have the right to vote; and hence people who do not reside in States inhabited largely by negroes are simply wasting their time in discussing the question of negro suffrage.

But if the men who favor negro suffrage ask for other than constitutional reasons why these men should not be allowed to vote, we suppose they can be accommodated. Those who oppose this measure can find abundant reasons for their opposition in the character of the negro himself. They would not fully enfranchise him simply on account of his unfitness. We admit other races to the ballot-box, but in doing so it has been understood that if the men thus admitted were at the moment unfit for the exercise of the right of voting, they would in time become qualified. The African is not a progressive being in the same sense that is the Caucasian. The very highest civilization ever attained by the negro has been in the servitude from which *pseudo* philanthropy has just emancipated him.

We do not propose to rehearse the well-known anthropological and ethnological reasons why the African can never become the equal of the white man. Suffice that it has been demonstrated beyond doubt that the negro is an inferior animal, and hence he should be admitted to only such a share of governing privileges as he is entitled to by his intelligence. There is not to-day in the South one thousand negroes who are capable of depositing an intelligent ballot.* Giving them a right to vote would be simply equivalent to creating so many hundreds of thousands of voting machines, which would operate in obedience to the will of a few white men. It would be nothing more than enabling unscrupulous and demagogical white men, who now are limited to one vote each, to cast each several hundreds or thousands of votes.

No one will believe for a moment that the liberties of this country will be any better guarded by inaugurating a system which will allow the concentration of power in the hands of irresponsible individuals. The vote of these freedmen would be a tremendous power, and it would all be wielded by a comparatively few men. It would be the establishment of an oligarchy vastly more powerful and damaging than that which has just ceased to exist in the South.

Whatever may be the opinions of the zealots who advocate the perfect equality of the negro as to his future intelligence, they cannot resist the fact that now the vast body of freedmen are no more qualified to wield the ballot than so many mules. It would therefore be better that they should postpone their demands for suffrage for the negro until he has been submitted to a course of education, and his capacities for government ascertained. Should time show that the negro possesses the same capabilities for development as white men, there is no one in this country who will oppose his perfect political equality.

The truth is that all this clamor about negro suffrage is simply and solely a movement not having in view the benefit of the negro, or of the whole country, but of a political party. It is done with the object of giving preponderance to the abolition party. This party, being in power during the last four years, has so interwoven the existence of the country with its own hateful policies, that the people of the North have supported the latter rather than sacrifice the former. But the war is ended, and abolitionism, no longer having the patriotism of the country as a vehicle for the transportation of its ideas and power, must now find something else or lose its position. It knows that a majority of the North is conservative and will repudiate it, and it knows also that the same is the case in the South. Unless, therefore, it can reinforce itself by the votes of the Southern negroes, it will become insignificant and disappear.

This attempt to secure negro suffrage is the rattle in the throat of a moribund party. It is the attempt of a drowning man to save himself by clutching desperately at straws. It will not succeed. The Constitution forbids it; President Johnson opposes it, and so does the conservative sentiment of the entire country.

* Query—How many thousands who could and do write better grammar than their "intelligent" calumniator?

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO.

From the Chicago Times.

ALMOST exactly the same conditions apply to the future of the negro in this country that do in the case of the Indians. Neither can compete with the white race, and consequently where competition arises, the inferior race must give way.

The would-be philanthropists of the day overlook the fact that in providing for what they believe to be the amelioration of the present condition of the negro, they are surely placing him in a condition that will ultimately secure his extinction. By making him free, he is thrown upon his own resources. He enters the field of labor as a competitor against the brawn and intellect of the white race. In a contest of this sort, the final result cannot be doubtful. The negro, both in his natural state and in that semi-civilized condition which he has attained in this country, has none of the thrift, the energy, the perseverance of the Anglo-Saxon. He will perform willingly only the lighter labors, and applies himself to the others only when driven to it by force or the necessities of hunger. The testimony taken with reference to abandoned plantations shows that continuous and voluntary effort on the part of negroes occurs only in exceptional cases.

Throughout the North we see the negro nowhere competing with white industry, save in the lighter and more menial employments. The deck hands of river and lake crafts are white; the manufacturer employs white labor; the merchant has white clerks and porters; the stevedores, brakesmen, street workers, car drivers, expressmen, shoemakers, tailors, but here, bakers, are all white men. Nowhere in the North has black been able to successfully compete with white labor.

It will be but a little while before emigration from the North and Europe will have driven the negro from the border States. A little later and it will penetrate the cotton States and will place its muscle and intelligence in competition with the indolent negro. The result can easily be foreseen. The negro will have to yield, and this country will find itself the possessor of some three or four millions of negroes that will have ceased to be producers. Ceasing to be producers, they will become a pauperized element, whose support will devolve upon the country. The country will not support them, and their extinction will commence.

No candid man, looking at the future of the negroes in this country, can avoid the conclusion that they must inevitably go down in the lists of free labor. Giving them freedom is simply giving them the freedom to struggle unaided against a superior race. Appreciating this fact, the question with the true philanthropist is, such a disposition of the negro as will confer upon him the greatest good. It is a difficult matter to decide; if we keep him with us he will sooner or later go down before white labor, and will therefore become a drag upon the progress of the country. If we send him away he will inevitably follow the example of all other negro colonies and relapse into a condition closely akin to his native barbarism.

The truth is that through the efforts of these philanthropists, acting in concert with the restless fire-eating element of the South, the country finds itself the possessor of an elephant of the largest and most sombre dimensions. We can neither keep it nor give it away. Instead of effecting a settlement of the destructive negro controversy, it has only been changed in form, and now is as urgent as ever in its demands for attention. Phillips is [illegible] as is Sumner, as are the New York *Tribune* and *Herald*. So are the country press, and the politicians, and the political press, and the heads of departments [illegible]. [illegible]

Experience would suggest colonization either in this or some other country. [illegible]

NEGRO TROUBLES.—A *Tribune* correspondent complains that the negroes in Washington are suffering terribly, being "beaten, kicked, and abused every day." He adds that "in some parts of the city the blacks feel despondent, and apprehend that there is no protection for them." We fancy if the blacks, as he calls them, keep a civil tongue in their heads, and mind their own business, they will find protection. But why "the blacks"? It used to be "our fellow-citizens of African descent."—*N. Y. Courier.*

Selections.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held on Monday, May 29th, at 6½ p.m., at the London Tavern. Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P., President of the Society, occupied the chair. Edward North Buxton, Esq., moved the following resolution:

That this meeting rejoices in the cessation of the civil war in the United States, and in the overthrow of the slaveholders' rebellion, but especially in the unanimous adoption, by the American people, of the emancipation policy inaugurated by the election to the Presidency of the late Abraham Lincoln, and consistently promoted by him, during his first term of office, as shown in the various measures successively enacted by Congress, culminating in the acceptance of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery throughout all the States of the Union, in its ratification by twenty three of those States, and in the prospect of its adoption by the requisite majority to make it law. It congratulates the American people upon the triumph of the principles which led to the re-election of Mr. Lincoln last year, and sincerely condoles with them on the loss they have so recently sustained in the sudden removal, by an assassin's hand, of that good, great man, and distinguished statesman; and whilst it would record its confidence in his successor, it would also express the hope that the nation will strengthen his hands to carry out the policy which, commencing in the recognition of the right to freedom of four millions of slaves, must not be allowed to stop short of their elevation to all the privileges of full and complete citizenship.

Rev. MONCURE D. CONWAY supported the resolution as follows:

Mr. Conway said it gave him great pleasure to sustain the resolution. It seemed to him that they had great reason to see that the ground and struggle of human feeling—the pulses of men's hearts—were, when they were in the direct and right current, absolutely irresistible. Here were men in the North who did not even have votes, men who were generally non-resistant in their opinions, yet who, without casting a ballot—for it was against their principles even to vote under the Constitution—without even a vote, or carnal weapons of any kind—now saw the great fortresses of wrong crumbling under them, and for once there was much to admire in the great inherent power of rectitude and the principles of man; while on the other hand there was an equally admirable and magnificent exemplification of the perpetual and chronic suicidal course of evil. There never yet was a single blow struck for slavery in America which had not gone to its own heart. The very power by which it first invaded the territories of the West led to the formation of the States of freedom, and it ended in adding more strength and determination to the anti-slavery people. The power of the South swept away the great Missouri Compromise, which had for a long time been a wall between the two forces of Slavery and Freedom. No sooner was that done than the great independent power of the North began to propagate new free States everywhere. Then the upholders of slavery perpetrated that cruel act—they hanged John Brown. Everything that they had done for the purpose of perpetuating the horrible system had been purely suicidal; and at last it was their mad rebellion, their arming of the slaves, whose stake in the nation they had altogether ignored—which made emancipation necessarily a wise measure, and absolutely sealed the doom of the accursed institution. Evil was just as suicidal in its workings, as rectitude was self-sustaining and vitalizing. Mention had been made by the last speaker of the man who had been laid low by the hand of the assassin: that was only the last blow of the dagger which was meant to complete the institution's suicide. The final result of that was the determination which had arrested Jefferson Davis in his flight, and not permitted him to escape, and which had brought him under the power of the man who was self-elected by slavery to decide upon the fate of the Southerners and of the rebellion. At Macon, Georgia, where he (the speaker) remembered the brave Ellen Craft and William Craft, who was now doing so much to redeem Africa from her bondage, and her ignorance and superstition—where Ellen Craft went forth a fugitive in the brave race of 1,000 miles for freedom, dressed as a man, Jefferson Davis ran into the same swamp, dressed as a woman. There was a righteous and dramatic retribution all through the history of this war. Mr. Andrew Johnson, who was now called upon to preside over the American nation—to whom slavery was remitted, to further deal with the Southerners—was a man whom he remembered many years ago, a swarthy, dark-faced man, earnest, grim, terrible, a man without humor, not given to metaphor, plain, and absolutely in earnest all the time. This Andrew Johnson, when he became a landed proprietor, with a large estate in the neighborhood from which he (the speaker) came, was a large slaveholder, though at the beginning of the rebellion he discovered slavery to be a bad thing, and, calling his slaves together, told them they were free, and might go back on his farm, or anywhere else, and work for themselves, for he was sorry he could not take care of them any longer. He always had the reputation of being a very kind master to his slaves. He became Representative, Senator, and everything his State could make him; and yet he (the speaker) remembered when he asked somebody what that man was, receiving the reply, he was a tailor in Tennessee, who, although he had been some twenty years filling the highest offices the State could bestow upon him, had never allowed the old signboard to be taken down—"Andrew Johnson, Tailor"—and there it remained to this day in Greenville, Tennessee. He was a very plucky man. When he sat in the State, and the great surges of treason, of pro-slavery, of malice and wrath rose through the capital, and swept away all those Southerners southward to the Savannahs, where they all gone? No; there was one single man standing in the Capital: he was a remarkably taciturn man, who never made one speech hardly in five years: he stood now columnar. With Breckinridge in the chair at the Senate, he said, "If I could find a man using the power of this government—using the very power put in his hands by the government to undermine the government—I would arrest him, and by the eternal God I would hang him." After that he went through Lynchburg, Virginia—a very appropriate name—and was seized by the nose by a newspaper editor, and dragged about the town; he was kicked and spit upon by the mob, and had his hair pulled. Finally, he sought refuge in a railway car, and was taken to Liberty County where he was again seized, and threatened in the same way. As a sheep before its shearers, he said not a word. They even took a rope, and having made a slip knot, put it round his neck; the other end of the rope they threw over the branch of a tree, and were unanimous in their determination to hang him. He was absolutely certain he was to be hung, when a grey-haired old citizen came up and cried out, "Boys, don't hang him, for I have just got tidings that they are wanting to hang him in his own State: the Virginians have no right to take the right from the Greenville people." They accordingly set him at liberty. That was what saved the life of the United States' President. And it was to that man that slavery had committed its fate. He (the speaker) had been one of the rather outlawed set who so hated war as to believe it the next great sin in the world to slavery; one of the number of men who would gladly have compromised with the South, and let them go, if they had consented to the immediate emancipation of the slaves. Those who did not share in that opinion called those who did foolish. Well, he could not help that. He felt now that they would need every particle of the anti-slavery feeling in America and England to make the reform thorough and absolute. Now that the death of Abraham Lincoln—whom all personally loved, however politically alienated from him, a man who was free to all—now that that crime had brought a great angry threatening cloud on America, he the speaker gloried in it. He wished to see the whole of the cloud, the whole of the anger, he believed it would require all the lightnings of heaven to purify the country from its corner [illegible]. He did not wish any shaft [illegible] to direct the lightning, the anger, from its true object. He did not wish the American wrath to be visited on a worm, on a man caught running off to a swamp in crinoline. He would not have him lifted out of his crinoline into the dignity of a John Brown. He would not have him made a martyr. They had gone on in America thus far, and there had been nearly two score eminent men martyred for the behests of slavery, others had been driven from their homes, and hundreds exiled from the South. But, thank God, pro-slavery never once yet had a single martyr for which the North was answerable. No man of the South who upheld slavery had ever suffered in life or limb on account of his pro-slavery proclivities: the North had gone on step by step in her triumph, each step a grave for a limb of slavery.

RADICAL MEASURES THE ONLY SECURITY.

From the Boston Transcript.

THE South is conquered. The South admits it. Now what is to be done with the South? Clearly just that which will effect the redemption of the South and insure the safety of the nation from any future machinations against its integrity and its democratic institutions. Has all been accomplished which is essential to these ends? Clearly not.

Those who imagine that the overthrow of the military power of the rebels is to be instantly followed by a return of law and order are egregiously mistaken. Those who dream that the political heresies entertained by the "natural leaders" of the South and their Northern confederates, are extinguished, are indulging in a delusive vision. Those who assume that the destruction of slavery annihilates at once the barbarism, ignorance, and lawlessness, which were the consequences and accompaniments of slavery, are sadly deceived. Those who believe that the restoration of trade and commerce is to be a panacea for all the hurts of the terrible conflict, must regard Mammon as a miracle-worker indeed. Those who think pacification and reconstruction easy merely because Lee has surrendered and Jeff. Davis has been indicted, only show how poorly they understand the causes of the insurrection, and how hard it is to root them out.

The civil war is finished as a great war. The insurgent States can be watched and held under military rule. But how are they to be wisely governed? Who shall govern them? To what extend can they be left to govern themselves? These are the questions for the hour, and they are momentous questions. There will be no great difficulty in reinstating and reasserting the Federal authority in the section so recently in arms against it. But to what degree will it do to permit that section to be represented in the exercise of that authority? How far can it be relied upon for loyalty?

It was recently stated that out of a force of twenty thousand rebels who surrendered, only two thousand could read or write. From this it is fair to infer that a majority of the whites in the seceded States were like the eighteen thousand, who had not acquired the elementary means of judging of public affairs, and so were open to the deceptions of demagogues and ambitious politicians. The character of these intriguing and influential guides of the blind masses is now plainly understood. This statement shows how small is the amount of the trustworthy material out of which to build up patriotic communities, where treason has been running riot for years.

If the only object is to have a loose political compact, with constant disturbances of greater or less magnitude to vex the country, or if the only wish is to set the machinery of traffic in motion for the benefit of a few money-makers, why, then, a superficial adjustment may answer. But something beyond this is demanded as the price of the blood that has been shed. The insurgent States must be brought into an honest and abiding concord with the other States. To do this they must be held under the direct or indirect guardianship of the stronger party to the fight, until their moral, social, and industrial character is made intelligently democratic. This is the principle—whatever may be the methods employed—which cannot prudently be lost sight of in solving the difficult problem of reconstruction. The experiment, as reported of the recent election in Virginia is a warning not to be recklessly disregarded.

WILLIAM AND ELLEN CRAFTS.

IT is strange that there should be in the realms of King Dahomey, in Africa, a negro, formerly a slave in Georgia, able to sanctify the American war to the good of Africa. The war and the blockade having put a series of risks in the way of Portuguese slave-traders, they have been keeping the negroes who had been seized for them by Dahomey, in barracoons. William Crafts, now the leading merchant in Abomey, persuaded them (the traders) that these seized negroes could be set to labor, at sixpence a day each (fair wages there), in raising cotton and other staples. The plan has worked so advantageously that the ships meant to have borne them away, have been sent on legitimate voyages in many instances. The king himself has been quick to learn the lesson, and it is probable that the natives will not be generally transported hereafter. It is but an "egg," as the late President would say, but it is a good one without a scorpion in it, which is more than can be said of Banks's. The chief barracoon thus vacated has been taken by William Crafts for a school, which is decidedly flourishing. I hear from him occasionally through his wife, Ellen, who lives near here in the suburban village of Hammersmith, in her own home. Her children go to the best schools, and she pays her tax of $30 for the English poor. She feels the deepest sympathy for the freedmen in America, and gives what time she can to sewing, etc., for the societies here organized to help them. Her mother and some other relatives whom she long ago left as slaves in Macon, Ga., to take with her betrothed that romantic flight of a thousand miles for liberty, are, she hopes, free, or soon to be free; and I hope that any one under whose eye this may fall, who has an opportunity of learning anything about Macon, will inquire about her mother and friends, and send word to the *Commonwealth.*

A WORD FOR AMERICA BY ELLEN.

It is wonderful that negroes in foreign lands should feel such a deep love for America—the land in which they have suffered so much. William and Ellen Crafts, who were barely able, by the help of Parker, May, and others, to escape slave-hunters in New England, are among the warmest friends of America. Not long since, a lecturer visited Hammersmith and lectured about the manners and customs of America, which he professed to have visited. He told many smart stories about us—amongst other things, that the Yankees had so little linen that the table-cloths were used at night for sheets; and described a waiter in a hotel knocking at the door of a traveller and asking him for the table-cloth, upon which the traveller was only gradually persuaded that he was lying. He went on in this way for some time, when Ellen C. could stand it no longer, but (though the most diffident of women) arose in the audience and gave the lecturer a severe critical castigation, which delighted the audience and drew encomiums from the next day's Hammersmith paper.—*London Cor. Boston Commonwealth.*

WHERE IS THE RESPONSIBILITY.

[The *Evening Post* has answered this important question in brief, in a wiser, and more statesmanlike manner, than any other of the city journals. In an article headed "Principles not men," it treats most ably the inevitable conditions in which those born and nurtured in the atmosphere of slavery are placed. It shows that the system had them in its gripe and controlled them, rather than they it: whirling them forward, not really against their wills, but with a force which rendered their wills impotent, to the deadly and fearful ends of civil war, carnage, ruin and assassination. The article closes thus:]

WE charge, then, the sanguinary history of the last four years, the bloodshed of two thousand battles, the devastation of millions of square miles of fertile territory, the destruction of thousands of happy homes, the severance of myriad ties of affection, the savage and envenomed rancor of the sections—not to the individuals who took the lead in the horrid work, although we do not acquit these of complicity—but to that powerful slave caste which set them on, the infernal spirit of which animated their exertions, and whose wealth supplied them means. Our main enemy, most vital, unrelenting, truculent and fiendish, has not been Davis, or Lee or even the armies they maneuvred, but the monster of slavery which put them all in motion, and which, though smitten across the head, still seeks to rear its haughty and venomous crest, and still rattles the scales of its hideous misshapen body.

Therefore, as Mr. John Stuart Mill—one of the wisest men of this age, and always a staunch supporter of the cause of the Union—advises, in a letter quoted elsewhere, we should have our attention most intently fixed upon the extirpation of the slave caste, and not upon the punishment of persons. In other words, we should fight the principle that originated the war, rather than the men who were led into the war by that principle; we must root out slavery and every monument and vestige of slavery; we must destroy the slaveholding caste—as a caste; we must wrest from it the privilege of owning men; we must break down the inequality of right, and the odious political distinctions of race, which make it so corrosive and deadly. We may hang a thousand of the rebel leaders, if you will, and in that way vindicate the supremacy of the law, but we cannot in that way neutralize the virus which has poisoned our whole political system. Yet this is precisely the most momentous duty incumbent on us at this time. If we would reap the benefits of four years of war, if we would make the blood shed fertile of future harvests of good, if we desire that our brothers and sons and friends shall not have died in vain, we must complete that work of social regeneration which alone justifies the original resort to force.

How it is to be accomplished is clear to every discerning mind. The classes emancipated from the tyranny of chains must be also enfranchised with the prerogatives of free men. Their manhood, recognized in the proclamation and by the sentiment of the North, must be sanctioned by the political constitution. Give the freedmen votes, and a recurrence to oppression will be forever impossible; but deny them those essential rights of citizenship, and they may sink back into servitude. The old distinctions of race, at any rate, will be perpetuated, and the laboring class of the South will be a class of degraded serfs, and not a class of independent and respectable peasant proprietors. Their condition and the condition of the whites depend upon the question of suffrage, and as that may be determined, either by the States themselves or by the general government, Southern society will rise in the scale of peaceful and orderly civilization, or relapse into a chaotic and convulsive barbarism.

FREE DISCUSSION.

From the Evening Post.

MR. BENJAMIN WOOD announces that he retires from the editorial management of the *Daily News* (remaining, however, the proprietor of the paper); and it is understood he is succeeded by Mr. John Mitchel, lately of the Richmond *Enquirer*. That is all right. The principles of the *News* will not be changed; and it is proper that all shades of opinion should be represented among the journals of a city like New York. We suppose Mr. Mitchel does not come under any of the clauses in the Amnesty Proclamation which define those who are not to receive forgiveness. He did not fight, he did not hold office, and he had not, at last advices, fallen into possession of that plantation of fat negroes which he once professed to think a very comfortable thing.

Nor is the *News* mealy-mouthed under its new manager. This morning, for instance, we find an appeal for Jeff. Davis:

"If nobody else will say it, we shall"—the able editor meant to write *will*—"this government has no right to put Jefferson Davis on his trial for treason. For four years he has carried on an open and honorable war, one of the grandest wars ever waged upon earth, against all the power of this nation,"

and so on. We have got back from fighting to argument again; and it is every man's right to speak his mind. But while the Richmond *Enquirer* is thus transferred to New York, let the other side see to it that able loyal and anti-slavery papers are established at various points in the South. The children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light—and the enemies of freedom and popular government are active as ever in all parts of the country. The battle is lost to them, but they have not yet lost all hope.

Mr. Wendell Phillips and other prominent men in the free States are much alarmed at the political prospect in the South, and do not hesitate to express their fears. They assert that without universal suffrage the South and the Union are not safe—and we agree with them that equal rights for all men before the law is the only security for us all. But their arguments, however sound and able they may be, do not have the effect they ought to have, because they are delivered in the wrong place, and to the wrong people. These gentlemen speak in Boston—but they ought to speak in New Orleans. They write in New York—but they ought to write in Charleston, or Mobile, or Richmond. They lecture in New England towns and villages—but their eloquence would find as ready listeners, and meet with far greater success, if they would address the Southern people in their homes.

It was a great mistake that we ever gave up the right of free speech and free discussion in the South—but it will be a still greater mistake if we do not now, at once, resume it. The tyranny over opinion which the slaveholders so long exercised in the Southern States, forced Northern men into a habit of saying that in the free States which they were not permitted to say in the South. That is a habit we must get rid of as quickly as possible—and just now is a favorable opportunity to assert the right of free discussion in every Southern State.

If we want public sentiment in those States to be turned in the right direction, our ablest speakers and writers must address the Southern people—not from a distance, but face to face. The New York paper or Boston speaker reaches, at the best, only the few at the South who do not need light, but are confirmed lovers of darkness. The Southern masses need enlightenment, and they will not get it in this generation if they are left to themselves, or worse yet, to the planters.

There should be, within ninety days, an able anti-slavery and loyal press in every considerable Southern city and centre; and there ought to be immediately formed an association to send eloquent lecturers through every part of the South, to address the masses of the people upon the questions which are of equal importance to them and to us, and to demonstrate to them the wisdom of equal rights, and the folly and mischief of discriminating arbitrarily against any man on account of the color of his face. That is the speediest and the cheapest way to pacify the Southern people, to win them to right ways, to set the wheels of the local governments going in the right direction.

Let no one say this is impossible; that such speakers would not be safe. President Johnson is a lover of free speech; he has known what it is to have this right denied, and to see false doctrines choked down the throats of a people, and the exponents of right crushed. He will support free discussion everywhere in the Union; and it would not be a singular thing indeed, if a loyal man could not speak as freely in any Southern State as Mr. John Mitchel in New York. If it is necessary to guard a loyal speaker with a military force in the South, this ought to be done, and will be done; for the Southern people must learn—if they do not know it by this time—that every man has a right to speak, and that the remedy for those who do not like a speaker's sentiments is not to listen to him. But we do not fear that any able loyal speaker will lack an audience in any part of the South.

It is asserted by those who oppose negro suffrage, that the Southern whites are opposed to it. Take away this argument, and no one in the South will be so foolish as to offer opposition to the measure. We do not know what is the real opinion of the majority of the Southern whites on the subject. We doubt if any one does. We do know many Southern men are strongly in favor of negro suffrage, and many others who desire to make all men voters in their States, who can read, be they white or black. But we believe it possible, with proper and judicious efforts, such as we have spoken of above, to set the majority of the Southern people right upon this important question in a very short time. And in any effort for this purpose, we have this in our favor, that the loyal whites in every Southern State will favor general suffrage, perforce, to save themselves from falling under the control of their old and bitter enemies, the rebel leaders.

GEN. SHERMAN ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

From the Chicago Tribune, June 13.

THE following report is given of Gen. Sherman's remarks upon the question of negro suffrage, in one of his recent speeches in this city:

"Adverting to the negroes, who had been made free, he said that the government [illegible] require to devise some system of labor, in order that the lands of the South might be cultivated. (Applause.) He wanted those who had been in the South, to hear testimony to the condition of these freed negroes. His own personal opinion was, that they were not fitted for the exercise of the franchise. (Loud cheers.) He wanted them to get a fair price for their labor—to own and cultivate the lands; but he did not think they were fitted to take part in the legislation of the country. (Renewed cheering.)

The spirit of slavery institutes what it calls "systems of labor" or "patriarchal institutions" in order that lands may be cultivated. The genius of freedom leaves every man free to cultivate the lands according to his own system, in order that men may be developed. The former subordinates the tiller to the soil. The latter holds the cultivation of the soil to be only a means of educating the man. Gen. Sherman calls on the government to institute (fatal word, for two hundred years "institution" has meant "slavery") "some system of labor." We have now no system of labor instituted by government, except for paupers and convicts. So far as the negroes may belong to either of these classes they will need "systems of labor," but no self-supporting negro need to be torn from his occupation to be made subservient to any "system of labor." Gen. Sherman's personal opinion is that the freed negroes are not fitted for the exercise of the franchise. This is largely true, but if fitness is to be the test, how few of the whites can vote? Did Gen. Sherman ever meet a white Southern man who was not a rebel? Hundreds and thousands of them cannot read and write. Their intense ignorance was a principal cause of the rebellion. Whipping them has not enlarged the bounds of their knowledge, except upon the single point that they have been thrashed. As to all else, they are as ignorant as ever, and rebels besides. Are intensely ignorant rebels just returned from fighting against their country, and who cannot read or write, better voters in Gen. Sherman's opinion than educated, loyal negroes like Robert Small or the negro who piloted Gen. Burnside's fleet to the victory of Roanoke, or the negro who piloted McClellan to his new base on the James, or to any of the black troops who have bravely fought on the right side in this war? Has he ever met a Southern white man who was not false or a Southern black man who was not true to the Union? If this Unionism be combined, though under a dark skin, with the rudiments of education, so that the negro who has fought for his country can also read its Constitution, would Gen. Sherman deny the ballot to such, and give it to rebels reeking with the blood of his own troops, and who could neither read nor write? As regards taking part in the legislation of their country, no negro can do this until he is elected to the Legislature. To be elected he must not only be preferred to his white competitor by a great many black votes, but by a great many white ones. If he gets a majority of both it only proves that he is the fittest representative of such a constituency. If we at the North can tolerate Ben. Woods and Vallandighams representing white treason, the constituencies who may elect them at the South will hardly suffer from the Fred. Douglasses or Robert Smalls whom they may send to represent black loyalty. The intelligent sentiment of the North is substantially united in favor of granting the suffrage to all at the South, whether white or black, who have fought for the Union, or can read and write, are loyal and are self-supporting. If it be said that this really admits no blacks to vote, we answer, very well, then it can do no harm. Why not unite with us in supporting it?

But apart from these views there is an authoritative declaration extant to which Gen. Sherman, if no other, should pay some respect. Gen. Sherman anticipated this question a year ago, when he wrote in one of his published letters:

"If you admit the negro to this struggle for any purpose, he has a right to stay in, for all, and when the fight is over, the hand that drops the musket cannot be denied the ballot!"

Gen. Sherman having thus claimed in advance the ballot for negro soldiers, his present change of position cannot but excite surprise in the minds of all interested in the question or the man.

VOICE OF THE WEST.

[Some of the journals of the far West have the true ring, as for instance the Manhattan (Kansas) *Independent*. With a very friendly notice of the STANDARD and the American Anti-Slavery Society, it farther remarks:]

THE government needs to feel the force of public opinion, expressed in so emphatic a manner that it will not dare to disregard it. If the negro is left out in the reconstruction of the State governments, aristocratic notions and ideas will control the action of these States, and they will of necessity remain hostile to the really free States, and we shall never have permanent peace till by another war we shall have conquered them again, when, perhaps we may have another opportunity to correct the fatal blunder.

The help of the negro was essential to success in overcoming the rebellion. We cannot reconstruct the Union without the help of the negro, and any attempt to do so will involve the nation in trouble. God has taught us that we cannot disregard justice without incurring His chastisement. The negro stands before us claiming the acknowledgment of his manhood and his rights. In our extremity he came forward and turned the tide of war in our favor, and shall he plead for his rights in vain? Who demands his continued debasement? None but rebels and their sympathizers; none who love republican principles and have the sense to comprehend them. Will the people of this country turn a deaf ear to justice? While showing unexampled magnanimity to their enemies will they refuse justice to their friends? The negro has always been our faithful friend and ally; shall we now sacrifice him to placate rebels, who have murdered our prisoners by tens of thousands, outraging every principle of warfare allowed by civilized nations? After reconstruction the negro will be represented in Congress by nearly forty members; shall he have a voice in the election of those members, or shall they all be chosen by those white barbarians who starved to death our prisoners, and made drinking cups of the skulls of our brothers slain in battle?

[And this also from the Milwaukee *Weekly*, which everybody in Wisconsin should patronize, if the following is a fair specimen of its quality.]

"Is negro suffrage necessary to a republican form of government?" No, but manhood suffrage is. And just so far as we exclude any class from the polls, we are anti-republican.

We do not see the force of the talk of "a President creating a vast body of voters, by executive authority." God, not the President, created the voters. The President's duty is simply to recognize what God has created. The people are the source of power. They have the right to form governments, and all governments created without their will, are usurpations, or the Declaration of Independence is a lie. Are not colored men a part of the people? They are when it comes to fighting. Why not, when it comes to voting? It seems strange to hear a Democrat talk about the foundations of the government being overthrown by letting the *people vote*. "Why not women, minors and aliens?" says the *Capitol*. Because no Constitution, State or national, permits them to vote. But if you permit *white* women, minors and aliens to vote, then we contend that *black* women, minors and and aliens should vote. It is not a question of *age*, or *sex*, or *nativity*, but of *color*,

And we insist, that color shall be no disqualification—that men's rights shall not be graduated by their complexion. That is all.

We believe that President Johnson's heart is right, in this matter, and that he sincerely desires to do right. We believe, too, that he will be led to see, and the whole loyal people with him, that the public safety, the protection of loyal men, and the permanence of republican institutions demand that the ballot shall be put into the hands of the blacks, and that the government shall know no distinctions of political franchises on account of color.

HOW TO DO IT.

From the N. Y. Tribune, June 16.

The treatment of the freedmen is evidently getting to be a matter of much importance; and the melancholy letters sent to us from Richmond, which we recently printed, show that great, cruel and, as we firmly believe, disastrous mistakes are at least possible. There are two ways of managing this business, which we will state as plainly as we can:

1st. There seems to be some inclination to experiment after the old diabolic, and, as we had fondly hoped, exploded fashion, whereof the essence is swindling more or less disguised, the adjuncts being cruelty and sneering contempt for the weak and helpless. Now we do not intend to acquiesce silently in this villainous style of procedure, if for no other and better reason than because our own reputation for the commonest kind of sagacity is at stake. Having recommended that the blacks should be treated as human beings, we cannot be responsible for the result if they are to be treated as beasts. If you choose to defraud the just emancipated laborer, to pay him inadequate wages, to pay them at unseasonable periods and after unjustifiable delays, to neglect ordinary police provision for his personal safety, to screw, to grind and to skin, to beat, to bruise and to kick, to starve and to freeze—if this is to be your amiable policy—*i. e.*, if you are to retain all the worst features of the old system, without its mitigations, then you must take the consequences with the full assurance that they will not be dulcet. The thing has been tried in other countries—in Ireland, for instance—with such miserable result, such anarchy, pauperism and deplorable lack of profit, that we must be madder than mad and blinder than blind, if we entail upon our future a life legacy of pertinacious and puzzling confusion. Only we protest in advance, if this course is to be pursued, against blundering and blinking deductions from the disastrous result, in favor of the involuntary and unpaid system of labor. The trick of giving an old crime a new name has been played before, but never, we think, has it proved advantageous to the serenity of society.

2d. The second course to be pursued is the plain and we should think easy one, of treating the black just as you would treat a white man under the same circumstances. Human nature is alike everywhere. Kindness, justice, and scrupulous equity will always bear fruit in peaceable, industriously inclined, and thrifty workmen. Nobody doubts this in New York—we cannot, for the life of us, see why there should be any scepticism in Richmond.

—If Gov. Pierpont finds it necessary to arrest and send to prison over 800 freedmen in a single day, there being no riot, strike, or turn-out, all we have to say is that the governing in Richmond must be of a pretty mean description. It is not in the least probable that any such wholesale severity is demanded by circumstances. It implies a threatened anarchy, an insurrection, a massacre projected—but while we have the effect, there is not the least pretence of these causes. Richmond seems to be about as quiet and peaceable as Boston or New York. We hear of no bloodshed, or burning, or bullying on the part of the blacks—we only hear that they are sent to jail by fellows who a few weeks ago were secession constables, domineering over our poor soldiers in Castle Thunder. Really, it seems to be a crime for a black to walk the streets of Richmond. Colored children cannot go to school without a pass. Offending negroes are subjected to cruel and unusual punishments. If these things go on, we shall have trouble bitterer and bitterer, until hard experience has hammered a little common-sense into our skulls and a little softened our hearts. * * *

About the bad treatment of the freedmen in Richmond there can be no question. The testimony is ample, concurrent, and credible. Some of it is of a character to crimson with shame the cheek of every honest citizen. The appeal of colored men, free born, men of property and tax-payers, which we published on the 12th inst., is a document which it will not be wise to disregard. We most ardently desire the complete return of peace, and those excellent results for which we have paid so dearly. Every tale of oppression which reaches us fills us with a double measure of indignation, partly because we of the North are now chiefly responsible for the fair treatment of a class which we profess to have emancipated, and partly because we desire nothing more earnestly than the final adjustment of this ruinous and demoralizing quarrel. We hunger for peace, but no peace will be palatable or permanent which is not founded upon exact and equal justice to all. Let us have it!

CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN.

The convention of colored men of Connecticut, at Temple Hall, New Haven, June 6th, passed the following preamble and resolutions, unanimously:

Whereas, the subject of the elective franchise has recently engaged the attention of the Legislature of this state, and has passed that honorable body by the required constitutional majority and now awaits the ratification of the people at the approaching elections, therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention, representing the feeling and opinions of the colored people of this state, declare their sentiments upon this subject.

Sec. I. We regard the right of the elective franchise as one of the most valuable and sacred rights of man, and at once the glory and shield of civil government.

Sec. II. That to deprive any class of men of this invaluable and inalienable right, and for a pretext, relieve their property from a state tax, where at the same time they must bear part of the expenses of the general government, is not to be considered as a favor, but is rather a measure calculated to fix upon them more deeply the mark of political degradation.

Sec. III. The constitutional disability under which colored men labor in the state of Connecticut, being founded upon that color with which the Almighty Creator has endowed them, is impious before Heaven, unjust and cruel to those affected by it, abhorent to the religion of Jesus Christ, insulting to humanity, a dishonor to the state and an obstacle to that spirit of freedom which is abroad in the earth struggling to redeem man the world over, and should therefore be speedily removed.

Sec. IV. We believe that the day has now come when the people of our beloved state of Connecticut should efface this blot from her constitution, and proudly and nobly take her place with her sister states of New England in giving to all her citizens the right of suffrage.

Sec. V. We pledge ourselves to each other to use all honorable means to induce the good people of this state to rise in their moral strength, and in the majesty of their political dignity, and remove from the state escutcheon that blot which now identifies her with the spirit of political tyranny.

Sec. VI. We recommend to this convention that one or more of its members be appointed to draw up an appeal to the voters of this state, urging the right of the colored people to the elective franchise.

Sec. VII. We repudiate with scorn and contempt the minority report of the committee of the legislature on this subject, believing it only a base move to serve political party purposes; we therefore pledge ourselves to use all possible means to subvert their action and prove to the contrary.

We tender to that portion of the legislature who have maintained the rights of a down trodden and oppressed people our best wishes, and thanks for their noble services.

LETTER FROM MR. CHASE TO A COMMITTEE OF COLORED MEN.

HE [illegible] BLACK FREEMEN ENTITLED TO THE PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENSHIP.

From the New Orleans Times, June 9.

The following letter of Chief-Justice Chase to a committee of colored men of this city explains itself:

New Orleans, June 6, 1865.

Gentlemen: I should hardly feel at liberty to decline the invitation you have tendered me in behalf of the loyal colored Americans of New Orleans, to speak to them on the subject of their rights and duties as citizens, if I had not quite recently expressed my views at Charleston in an address, reported with substantial accuracy and already published in one of the most widely circulated journals of this city. But it seems superfluous to repeat them before another audience. It is proper to say, however, that these views, having been formed years since, on much reflection, and confirmed, in new and broader application, by the events of the civil war now happily ended, are not likely to undergo, hereafter, any material change. That native freemen, of whatever complexion, are citizens of the United States; that all men held as slaves in the States which joined in rebellion against the United States have become freemen through executive and legislative acts during the war; and that these freemen are now citizens and consequently entitled to the rights of citizens, are propositions which, in my judgment, cannot be successfully controverted. And it is both natural and right that colored Americans, entitled to the rights of citizens, should [illegible] their exercise. They should persist in this claim respectfully but firmly, taking care to bring no discredit [illegible] their own action. Its justice is already acknowledged by great numbers of their white fellow-citizens, and these numbers constantly increase. The [illegible] however, under which these rights [illegible] impose on those who assert them peculiar [illegible] rather special obligations to the discharge of

common duties. They should strive for distinction by economy, by industry, by sobriety, by patient perseverance in well-doing, by constant improvement of religious instruction, and by the constant practice of Christian virtues. In this way they will surely overcome unjust hostility and convince even the most prejudiced that the denial to them of any right which citizens may properly exercise is equally unwise and wrong. Our national experience has demonstrated that public order reposes most securely on the broad base of universal suffrage. It has proved also that universal suffrage is the surest guarantee and most powerful stimulus of individual, social and political progress. May it not prove, however, in that work of reorganization which now engages the thoughts of all patriotic men, the best reconciler of the most comprehensive lenity with the most perfect public security and the most speedy and certain revival of general prosperity?

Very respectfully yours,

S. P. Chase.

Messrs. J. B. Rudanez, L. Golis and L. Banks, Committee.

GEN. BUTLER ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

Gen. Butler, who does not often open his lips without speaking some just and honorable word for the negro, at the collation which followed the monument dedication ceremonies in Lowell, June 17, responded to the toast complimentary to the army and navy. He urged that the confiscated lands forfeited by treason should be given to the soldiers who had put the rebellion down. In further connection with the subject the General said: While we give every guerdon to the citizen soldiers who went forth from the free North, from Massachusetts and New England, and from the States east and west, guided by intelligence, and instructed in their political rights, and burning for the national honor, what shall we say of another class of soldiers, a class that had no instruction, no political rights, had had no joy in the past and little hope in the future? What shall we say of those colored men who, with intuitive loyalty and patriotism, volunteered with us in our defence? Shall there be no word of encouragement for the negro soldier who stood side by side fighting for the country which had been heretofore unjust to him, but who, relying in the future upon the faith and on the justice of omnipotent God, still stood up and fought bravely? Is there no reward to be given to him? Shall we forget him? Shall he be denied even the poor honor of participating in the review of the troops who won those great victories at the National Capital? I trust this country will never be guilty of such ingratitude; if I may make such a promise I will never cease to urge upon the government to do justice to the negro; at least to allow him to appear in arms in the Capital that he helped to save by his valor; and I again appeal to the men of Massachusetts to say whether the man who is fit to fight is not fit to vote (cheers). Whether a man that can carry a cartridge-box is not fit to walk up to the ballot-box. Whether the man who knows how to handle a bayonet does not know how to handle a little bit of paper. I am ready to admit the want of intelligence and cultivation in the negro. I know he is ignorant, but he knows enough to be right in this contest; to be loyal; and that is a great deal more than his master did (cheers and laughter), and therefore, as I know, from having seen the rolls of ten thousand of the rank and file of the Confederate army prisoners, I know, that only one in eight was able to sign his name. In this reconstruction, we have got to trust to the instinct, and not to the intellectual cultivation of the voter. I had rather trust to the loyal black instinct than to the disloyal white instinct (laughter). Therefore, my friends, I think we can ask the government to hold on and first punish the disloyal citizen, either by the loss of his life, his liberty, or his land, according to the decree of the government. But do not punish the loyal citizen, who has done everything the ability God has given him would permit to further the cause of the Union and government. Further ask of the government simply to wait, and see who its friends are; to deal only with those that are friends to-day—not of the lip, but of the heart. Deal with the men who have fought for it, and not with those who have fought against it; to give political rights to those who have defended them, and not to those who have undertaken to overthrow them. Let us have the whole army, regulars and volunteers, citizen soldiers, black and white and gray, who fought for us, and give each and all their due proportion of praise.

A pleasing incident attending the exercises was the presentation of an elegant silk flag and a silver plate. On the flag was the following inscription: "Maryland to Massachusetts, April 19, 1855. May the Union and Friendship of the Future obliterate the Anguish of the Past." Lieut.-Col. Tyson of Gov. Bradford's staff, presented the flag with an eloquent address, which was appropriately responded to by Gov. Andrew.

MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Concord, N. H., June 8.

Gov. Smyth was inaugurated to-day with military and civic display. The inaugural address is a long and able document. The total debt of the State is \$3,978,000, and there will be due this year \$258,000 in interest, making \$3,236,000. The estimated receipts of this year will be \$932,000. The remaining floating debt, interest and outstanding claims, are \$760,000. The annual expenditures to be provided for the ensuing year, amount to \$2,642,000. He recommends the issue of 7-30 currency interest bonds to meet this, with rigid economy.

Gov. Smyth closed his able Inaugural Address, with the following, on

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

"I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the success which has attended the efforts to restore the Union, and to establish it on foundations of truth and justice. Our armies have not only carried with them a restored authority, but they have opened the way for a higher and nobler civilization, without which there can be no free government, and with which rebellion is impossible. For myself, I shall feel that the great purpose of this war is not attained, the lesson of this punishment not learned, until free schools, free churches, and a free ballot, are established wherever the Federal authority extends. This we owe to the good order and permanent security of all the States; this alone will be a commensurate reward for the unparalleled heroism of our brave soldiers, who have borne us through the contest. On such a consummation only can we expect the continued favor of Heaven, and the blessing of the God of our fathers. Let the awful scenes through which we have passed teach us our duty. The blood of the sons of New Hampshire, mingled with that of others from every loyal State, calls to us from a hundred battle-fields to stand true to the great cause, through all the exultations of victory and amidst the signs of accomplished peace.

"The spirit of the great martyr for universal emancipation, lifted above the cares and weaknesses of this life, bids us be true to the cause. In our sorrow, even, let us take courage, and make the brutal assassination of our noble President—that most wicked fruit of a barbarous system—confirm us in the resolution to make universal freedom a synonym for universal suffrage, under such safeguards as wise legislation may provide. All must agree that the States which have been in rebellion should be hereafter not controlled by rebels and traitors, and that as we do not propose to admit again into the Union the cause of all this evil, let us extend to the loyal citizen, of whatever color, those rights justly earned by patience, devotion, and firm, unwavering faithfulness to the common cause.

"The weakness, dependence, and ignorance of the race whose broken shackles have paved our way to victory, are so many potent reasons why its condition should no longer be left uncertain or insecure. This question of negro suffrage is one of those defences behind which slavery will yet entrench itself, and by which it will seek to regain some fragment of the power it has justly lost. If we would have an enduring and prosperous peace, we shall level every obstruction, concede nothing to the prejudices of slavery, and give the freedman the right to assert that manhood peacefully at the ballot-box, which he has so nobly proved on the battle-field. Let no fears or apparent difficulties in the way deter us. There is no danger so great to a nation as the existence of a flagrant injustice in its midst, sanctioned and protected by its authority. Let us, therefore, be just, and hope for continued favor from the source of all prosperity."

PERIL OF ADVOCATING NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN THE PULPIT.

Editor of the Traveller: The minister of the 2d Congregational (Unitarian) Society in Concord, N. H., Rev. J. L. Hatch, having ventured boldy to advocate negro suffrage in his pulpit last Sunday, as a measure absolutely necessary, in order to complete the emancipation of the slaves and enable them to protect their own rights and interests, prominent members of the society have called a meeting of the parish, with the determination to shut him out of the pulpit hereafter. Such was the excitement, that, no sooner was the benediction pronounced, than an officer in the society declared the discourse "*damnable!*" and another "Conservative Republican" met the reverend gentleman as he passed out, shook his fist in his face, and called him a "miserable puppy!" It should be added, that the clergyman had been previously warned by these men not to preach any more anti-slavery sermons, or there would be trouble. The spirit of tyranny seems not to be confined to the South. Rev. Mr. Stewart,, of the Unitarian Society in Nashua, was recently dismissed in a very summary manner for the same offence.

Whether the friends of freedom, North, as well as South, will prevail in this case, we hope is not doubtful. ***

Concord, June 9.

BLACK WAGES.

The Richmond *Republic* reports that a meeting of the farmers representing seven counties in Virginia, held to consider the question of the wages of negro labor, after due deliberation, fixed the hire of field hands at five dollars a month, the hand to clothe himself and pay his own doctor's bills; also, the sum of one dollar a day for hands in harvest was fixed upon. The *Republic* supposes this will fix the wages throughout Virginia and the South.

These wages for first class hands, subject to the usual contingencies of sickness and seasons, will prevent the liberty of the blacks from being made dangerous by riches. We suppose that if the blacks of the aforesaid counties should hold a meeting to deliberate on the subject of wages for labor, and should fix the rate without which they would not work, it would be regarded as proof that the negro would not work in a state of freedom, and that slavery was the only condition he is fit for.—*Cin. Gazette.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1865.

FOURTH OF JULY.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION.

A mass-meeting of the friends of freedom will be held at the Grove, in Framingham, on Tuesday, July 4th, 1865. It is hoped that all the friends of a complete emancipation and of universal suffrage, for which we now plead, will endeavor to be present and testify their appreciation of the great issues impending.

The crisis, certainly, is one which calls forth the freest expression of noblest thoughts and principles.

Among the speakers expected are Rev. Merrill Richardson, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, Stephen S. Foster, Charles Lenox Remond, Abby Kelly Foster, Wm. Wells Brown, Andrew T. Foss, Mrs. F. W. Harper, Henry C. Wright, Charles C. Burleigh, and others. Trains will be run on the Boston and Worcester Railroad and Branches as follows: Leave Boston at 9-15 and Worcester at 9-40 a.m. stopping at way stations. Also from Worcester at 9-25, express train; and Milbury regular train—Milford, 7-10 and 9-20; Northboro, 9-40; Marlboro, 7-24 and 10-08.

Fares to the Grove and back from Boston, Worcester, and Millbury, \$1 for adults; 50 cents for children. From Grafton—adults, 90 cents; children, 45 cents. From Newton, the same. From Milford, by Branch, Northboro, Marlboro, Wellesley, Grantville, Cordaville, Southboro, and Westboro, 75 cents for adults, and 40 cents for children. From Natick, Holliston and Ashland, 50 cents for adults; 30 cents for children. Returning, leaves the Grove for Boston, Milford [illegible] cester at 5 p.m. For way stations above Fra[illegible] except Westboro, at 5, Northboro Branch at [illegible]

Admission fee to the enclosure of the [illegible] those not coming by cars—for adults, 15 c[illegible] dren, 10 cents. Those who come by railroad admitted free. No fireworks allowed in the Grove enclosure. The house at the Grove will be open for refreshments.

☞ In case of rain the meeting will be held in Waverley Hall, opposite the Railroad Depot, South Framingham.

THE ADMINISTRATION.

When Andrew Johnson issued his North Carolina proclamation, we believed, or at least hoped, it was but an experiment. Pointing out the danger of that policy, we refused to take for granted that it was the matured purpose of the President. With every disposition, and previously to that act with every reason, to credit the Administration with good intentions, we urged that this scheme should be met at the outset by a protest energetic enough to restore the President to his balance, and renew the confidence of the country in his wisdom. But our hope turns out presumptuous; our charity misplaced; and the Administration which then seemed to be hesitating on the brink of a precipice has taken the plunge. We must make up our minds that we have to deal henceforth with a President implacably hostile to the only method of reorganization which is safe, peaceful, and permanent. The South is to come back, so far as the President can bring it, on the basis of white suffrage, and Andrew Johnson is to lead the Conservative wing of the Republican party to the consummation of that suicidal purpose.

No intelligent man doubts that when Andrew Johnson entered office, he entered it a Radical on the question of Reconstruction. The expectation and belief of the country; the tone of the President's speeches in public and private; the declarations of his friends; all affirmed it. A recent letter says: "Mr. Sumner took early occasion to give the President his views upon the great questions involved in the reconstruction of the South, and he left the Presidential rooms firm in the belief that there was no essential difference of opinion on the main point between the President and himself." Chief-Justice Chase went South to make, presumably, an authorized exposition of the President's views, and declared for negro suffrage. A fortnight later came the North Carolina proclamation, and since then those of Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas, and there is no longer a doubt that the President is committed to the exclusion of the blacks from suffrage. Whence this change?

We believe the time has come to warn the Republican party, as well as the country, of its danger. It is time at least for that party to ask whether it will suffer itself to be Tylerized by Andrew Johnson. Not that the Republican party is dear to us or that we have any interest in its welfare as a party. But it contains among its leaders men who might save the nation if they would, as well as among its masses a probable majority who would sustain those leaders. Its destiny ought to repose in the hands of those who are true to its principles, rather than of those who entered it in order to betray them. If the former can retain or resume control of the party, they are committed to such a policy as will save party and country together—hence our interest in the matter. But from the hour of his inauguration, the President has been surrounded by a very different class of men, and has yielded himself to influences which brought him down to the level of his North Carolina experiment. His confidential adviser has been Preston King, and behind Preston King has been Thurlow Weed, who long since publicly abandoned the Republican party because of its anti-slavery policy under President Lincoln, yet who has never ceased to be the most intimate counsellor of the Republican Secretary of State, and who holds now to Andrew Johnson the same relation he held to Abraham Lincoln in the early years of the war, when it was *his* insidious tongue that postponed through weary months of shame and defeat the adoption of Emancipation as a war measure. He and the strong section of the Republican party which he represents, are to-day the authors of the policy of Andrew Johnson's Administration.

Nor have they been without other allies. It is yet a mooted point whether the President means in the end to look even to that section of the Republican party for support—whether he may not resume his connection with the Democratic party, carrying with him those Republican "conservatives" who are sure sooner or later to lose their supremacy over their own organization. It is amazing that the Republican journals do not take warning from the tone of their opponents. The New York *World*, the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, the Chicago *Times*, have not merely discussed the speeches of the President without the acerbity of criticism usual to them, but they have openly claimed him as a Democrat, and pretended to find in his recent declarations means to a reconciliation. Even the New York *News* fell in with this party, and pained the country by praise of the President. Prominent Democrats went to Washington in delegations, and were received in a—to say the least—not unfriendly way, though their mission was wholly a political one. Yet the Republican press has not a whisper of apprehension, but looks on with complacence and applause. When the Cooper Institute meeting of week before last was called, the *World* indignantly asked, "Who are the Republicans that they should assume to be specially the supporters of this Administration? Does not Mr. Johnson mean to be the President of the whole country?" But we all know that when a Democrat begins to talk about the "whole country," he means the Democratic party, and no more. It happened also that the Cooper Institute meeting was rather cleverly taken possession of by the Draper wing of the New York Republicans, who, if not Radical, are not Weed men, and under their guidance passed a pretty good resolution on the suffrage question. The meeting was accordingly denounced by virtuous Democratic journals as not at all an Administration meeting—and they were right to a certain extent. [illegible] the Republicans is the apparently officious yet possibly [illegible] interference of the Democrats in a matter which of right was wholly Republican.

The leaders in this Democratic movement are men who during the war were *intensely* hostile to the administration of Abraham Lincoln, and to the prosecution of the war. They are the men who for thirty years have been the willing tools of the slave oligarchy that ruled the South and the Nation. They passed the Missouri Compromise in 1821; they stood ready to back Nullification in 1832; they dug the pit into which John Tyler flung himself headlong in 1841; they helped annex Texas and engineered the Mexican war; they elected Pierce and Buchanan, and gave the latter Howell Cobb and Floyd and Thompson for Secretaries. They were the Copperheads, pure and simple, of the last three years; the anti-coercionists of 1861; the McClellanites and Chicago Conventionists of the last political campaign; they are the men who mean and expect to renew the alliance between the Northern and the Southern Democracy, and to make the North again, as for forty years it had been, subservient to the South. They mean to regard this war as not fought, and they are conspiring to cheat the nation of its victory. They are the men who will be found in Congress balancing with representations from the "Reconstructed" States between assumption of the Confederate, and repudiation of the National, debt. They have won, and they know it, the first trick in this game, and [illegible] upon winning the last by help of this [illegible] Andrew Johnson whom six weeks ago they [illegible] to find their most resolute enemy. Yet the [illegible] party goes to sleep, while its astute, in[illegible]le, tireless enemy thus takes possession of the President, and threatens to overturn the Republic by his help before the voice of the Nation can be heard next December in Congress. Is it too soon to rouse these sluggards to their danger? May it not be almost too late? The hope that remains to us is almost wholly in Congress, and it is to preserve and perpetuate the true Republican majority in that body that we raise at this moment this warning voice.

LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The following clear and decided exposition of his opinions by Mr. Wendell Phillips ought to set at rest, says the *Evening Post*, the controversy which the imperfect reports of the press have excited:

"Boston, June 14, 1865.

"*To the Editors of the Evening Post:*

"I thank you heartily for the generosity with which you have treated me the last ten days. For your satisfaction—publish it or not, as you please—I submit this statement, covering all I have ever said on the subject of repudiation.

"Half a dozen times during the last two years I have said that if the rebel States were reconstructed on the basis of white suffrage, their representatives in Congress, allied with our Copperheads, would attempt to repudiate the whole national debt, unless their rebel debts were assumed by us; a statement no intelligent man will question.

"On the 29th of last May, at the meeting here of the Emancipation League, I stated that, in my opinion, the North Carolina plan of reconstruction was a fraud on the nation; that it would result in a party aiming to repudiate the national debt, which party, I believed, would gather into its ranks a large portion of the so-called Democratic party, and that, if I had ever been a Democrat, or had ever held their views as to national debts, I would join such new party.

"At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, held 31st day of last May, I said exactly what you have quoted from the National Anti-Slavery Standard, *and no more*, to wit: that I should hold myself at liberty, life-long, to advocate the repudiation of any rebel debts, no matter how sacredly or formally assumed by any Congress containing rebel States reconstructed on a white basis. Some journals term this 'trivial' and a 'windmill.' It may be so. But I gain, by this proclamation in advance, the right to repudiate in all time hereafter, under all circumstances, such assumption of rebel debts. Whether this prove a trivial right or not, time will show. I can wait its verdict. Meantime, I trust the country will do its duty so faithfully that I shall never need to exercise my right.

Respectfully and gratefully yours,

Wendell Phillips."

THE CHURCH AND HER VOICES.

There was account the other day of a ministerial council in the case of an unfortunate brother, whose parish refused to pay his salary. He had labored some five years, and one stern old father in the council ruled, that if he had been there so long, without teaching his people common honesty, it was high time he went elsewhere.

Suppose such judgment extended. Let it declare that if a whole church, numbering three millions of baptized communicants, and led and taught by forty thousand ordained ministers, had not in almost a hundred years, inculcated and established too, the common principles of justice, liberty, equality, humanity, fraternity, it too had better go elsewhere.

Five and thirty years ago, the gospel of Garrison was first sounded. It was but a new proclamation of the old Hebrew cry of deliverance to the captives; the opening of the prison door to them that were bound, applied to the two millions then enslaved in our land.

This gospel, the church had not thus taught and applied. Slavery began in the nation, with five hundred thousand victims. They were without knowledge, without marriage; a vast community, below the savages, if above the brutes. And at the dawn of the anti-slavery dispensation they had multiplied to two millions, with their material, mental and moral condition, becoming constantly, if possible worse and worse. The anti-slavery enterprise found no favor with the church, more than with the world. The State had shielded the crime by Constitutional interpretations, and actual legal enactments; and now the church set herself to sanctify it in the name of religion. She declared it patriarchal, prophetical and apostolical. The fugitive slave laws she hallowed, by citation of Paul sending back a converted slave to his master, [illegible] an eminent if not indeed an officer in the church.

Thus between the Abolitionists and the popular church, there soon arose an "irrepressible conflict." Every large popular denomination arrayed itself on the side of the oppressor, and the battle became fierce, and even bloody.

At length the wakened thunders around Fort Sumpter, and the successive tempests of blood and fire determined the controversy, and the cause of justice and freedom was vindicated, the popular slave-holding and slavery abetting religion was unmasked, and it was shown to all Israel and the sun, that God and the right had ever been on the side of the Abolitionists.

It is a most important as well as interesting consideration that the Abolitionists made their first appeal to that very church. They sought and confidently expected to enlist in their behalf that powerful body, with its two trumpet tongues, the Pulpit and the Press. In common with the rest of mankind, they supposed that it was indeed the light of the world and the salt of the earth. One of her own brightest luminaries had pronounced slavery "the sum of all villanies;" and it followed that the slaveholder, if not "the chief of sinners," was, the sum of all villains, and not a fit subject for admission to a true church and pure communion. And so the Abolitionists expected that the church would vindicate her own honor and character at least, by the immediate expulsion from the fellowship of every unrepentant slaveholder and his not less guilty abettor in the North.

In this way it was believed the sin and crime could and would be annihilated. The Rev. Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, a distinguished divine and most learned commentator on the Scriptures had declared publicly, and sent his testimony through the world, that if all the American churches would do so simple an act as the Friends or Quakers had done seventy years before, in exorcising it and its apologists from membership, it must very soon give up the [illegible]

This too the Abolitionists fully believed. They had full faith in the moral power of [illegible] as must be a truly sanctified church of three millions of members, with a consecrated ministry numbering nearly forty thousand.

Even the political influence of such a host, it was contended must be irresistible. What President could be elected against the vote of such a host? Or being chosen, what bad measure could he enact or execute, against their united rebuke, protest and prayer.

To the Abolitionists, the Southern church was indeed the synagogue of satan; the Babylon of apocalyptic vision, trading in "slaves and souls of men." And they exhorted and entreated the church of the North to come out of such a fellowship, and not to be partaker of her sin, that she "receive not of her plagues."

But the warning was not needed. Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, all had their fellowship, more or less, directly or indirectly with the blood-besmeared idolatry. And to decline the communion, though holding the faith of the body, (as did many,) was to be denounced as seditionists and schismatics. To come wholly out of the fellowship, was to be blasted as a heretic and infidel.

The battle of Bull Run was the culmination of the controversy, in a most wondrous sense. On that dread Sabbath morn, did God arise in majesty and might; and seizing the church of the North as in his right hand, and of the South in his left, in that awful encounter he hurled them asunder, and poured them a sacrament of separation in each other's blood!

No Sunday's sun has shined on a united fellowship since. Together the South and North had long celebrated the feast of the last supper, the blood and tears of slavery mingled with their wine. Together had they partaken in the sin. Now, tog[illegible] plague. Together they came to [illegible] a feast of blood and butchery, [illegible] each other, who had so long an[illegible] sacramental cup. There the G[illegible] them and dashed them in piece[illegible] put asunder, let not man presume to join together. And now it is time to announce the purpose of this article. For that wild attempt is already in conception, if not indeed crystalizing into action.

While politicians are seeking how they may reconstruct the broken fragments of the State, the voices of the church are also crying for a rebuilding of her thunder shivered ruins.

And were the church to-day what she has so long claimed to be, not only could she lay her own foundations deep on the rock of ages, never to be moved by all the gates of hell, but she could and would demand that the government, too, should be established only on the basis of justice and righteousness. But a body claiming to be the church of the Most High, that had sanctioned all the abominations of slavery for almost a hundred years, surely cannot be the light of the world, nor the guiding star of states and nations. To her, the warnings of all history, profane and sacred, the teachings of all true philosophy, the lessons of all past experience, through sixty centuries, are to-day, as in the past, of no moment whatever. Even the terrors of the Almighty in the war, (not yet ended,) smiting down sin and sinners together; these, too, avail nothing.

Slavery was abolished, so far as it was the work of human agency, not as an act of justice and righteousness, but of stern "Military Necessity." It was to save the nation not to liberate the Slave. It was throwning overboard, the cargo not to get rid of it, but to save the ship and crew. Nor was it done till there was no other hope remaining.

And the voices of the church were only tuned to the low, sordid demand of the State. To the government, of course, repentance was only foolishness. To the church, it was but a "lost art."

In the reconstruction, too, the State and church seem likely to be one—and that one, still a rebel against the Majesty of heaven. For the colored race, that by divine decree has been made the salvation of the nation, is still to be despised and rejected, left a prey to a more merciless mastery than tormented it before.

Some strong religious bodies are demanding that the right of suffrage be given to the Southern freedmen. In this they but echo almost the whole Northern voice. Still to them be awarded all the credit and honor due. But what shall be said to revelations like the following from the very highest authorities in the religious newspaper press of the North? The *Christian Advocate and Journal* says:

"Our readers must excuse the urgency with which we write on this question. We do not believe that there is another subject now before the Church of such comparative importance. *There are hundreds of thousands of Methodists* scattered through the insurgent states; it has now become a question *whether these hosts shall be added to our present numerical force as a denomination*, or be thrown into lines of antagonism against us throughout those states. * * *

"We can afford to make this magnanimous overture without touching rudely the *lacerated feelings of the South*; the reunion can be mutual, its immunities equal; it should be substantially a hearty welcome of the South to share in all the blessings that God has lavished upon us as a church."

Or this from another equally important authority:

"What we need now is a wise, generous, Methodistic policy, that shall comprehensively take in all the conditions of the great revolution which is in process, and which, if rightly directed, may save tens of thousands of souls from falling away in the confusion of the change; may augment, in a few months, the numerical force of the denomination by *half a million of members*; may bind, in inseparable moral ligaments, the political unity of the republic, and make Methodism *the greatest cementing power of our renewed nationality*. Let us be prompt; let us be generous; let us be one again in the good fellowship of our common fathers; let us not insist, invidiously, on our old party disputes; they are practically eliminated; why need we pause to discuss abstractions for such they now are—effete questions? The best way to rectify any remaining errors of Southern Methodism is to waive all farther discussion, and all go to work in evangelizing the land and the world. Charity 'hides a multitude of sins; in this case, it will extinguish them.'"

And the *Northern Independent*, a stern and stalwart champion of Anti-Slavery Methodism, makes this grave charge against the *Methodist*, another of the most potent presses in the denomination:

"To our surprise we find the *Methodist* is advocating a reunion with the Methodist E. Church south—that apostate, secession, pro-slavery organization which has done more to produce the slaveholder's rebellion than any other agency in the south. The editor of the *Methodist* speaks thus in his last number:

"Last week we discussed this subject, showing that the formal re-union of the M. E. Church and the M. E. Church, South, is not only a practicable design, but is especially expedient for the latter because it needs the re-enforcement of its institutions, its book concerns, presses, colleges, academies, etc., by Northern co-operation; because it will lose hundreds of thousands of its colored members if it remains isolated; because tens of thousands of its white members will withdraw from it.

Rev. Mansfield French writes from Beaufort, S. C., to the *Christian Advocate and Journal* of this city:

"Dr. Myers has now gone to Macon to revive the *Southern Christian Advocate*. In conversation with several brethren I became convinced that the Methodist Church, South, can be brought back into the same relation as before the separation. I said to them, '*We no longer have any abolitionists, and you now have no slaveholders.* You have purged your discipline of all reference to slavery, and God has purged your church of slaveholders and slavery, and now it only remains for us to purge our discipline of all allusions to the dead carcass of slavery, then we can unite and have one bench of bishops, one church. Let the bishop scatter two or three hundred of your ministers through the North, and send as many of ours South, and then Ephraim will cease to envy Judah, and Judah will have no more occasion to vex Ephraim."

"I am sure the people would return more joyously, if possible than the ministers, if terms were offered which they should deem honorable. My heart and views have both changed since learning their impoverished and heart sickening condition. Now I would advise that every member of the Church *which the government will take back in government membership*, our Church should receive back, bishops and all.

No word or sign of repentance, or of justice to the slaves they have robbed and murdered for half a century! None.

In Boston too, Anti-Slavery Methodists are becoming alarmed at the portentous appearances. *Zion's Herald* says:

"The Church desires to know, and ought to know what the bishops think on these subjects, what they have done, and what they desire and intend to do. *Reticence on their part now is painful to us.* We wish they would speak out, and let the Church and the whole world know their policy.

The present tone and temper of the South is well understood. A correspondent of the Boston *Congregationalist* thus describes a meeting of the Baptist General Association of Virginia:

"Many of the speeches were disgraceful and abominable; filled with hatred to the North, and devotion to Southern interests. Rev. Dr. Burrows was especially earnest in opposition to the work of the Home Mission Society; claiming that the North needed such labor, more than the South!"

The *Congregationalist* deprecates such a spirit, of course, and would [illegible] oppose a re-union with it, in any [illegible] And yet its Washington correspondent [illegible] the work of the only men who are intending [illegible] at any cost to prevent a governmental reconstruction on such a basis of heaven-defying injustice and unrighteousness. He says:

"I do not like the disposition of a few Republicans. They desire a quarrel with the President, and would drive him over to the opposition. This is as foolish as can be, at the present time. The same policy would have split the Republican party into fragments long ago, under Mr. Lincoln's administration. The better plan *is to wait* and bring public opinion to bear upon the President. Act toward him as if he were a friend and not an enemy. It will be time enough next winter for a rupture, if one must take place."

In this last extract is our danger in part. Indeed "*waiting*" alone, is fatal. Will the arch enemy "wait"? Will Dr. Stevens of the *Advocate and Journal*, wait? Will even the editor of *The Methodist* wait? Or will Dr. Myers? or Dr. Burrows?

"While men slept (waited), the enemy sowed tares." Not waiting "till next winter," but constant, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, evermore.

But the danger is, if possible, even greater yet, from another consideration. Has this rebellion repealed all the laws of high heaven, so that no repentance, no justice, no righteousness, no restitution is to be required as condition of reconciliation? So the government is decreeing with reckless haste. The colored race, whose sweat and toil and tears built the south, and whose valor and blood have saved the nation, is still to be left to the tender mercies of their old tyrant unpitied, unprotected. And Dr. Myers urges the receiving back to the church, "all *which* the government will take back in government fellowship!" Yea, "bishops, and all!!"

Let the Anti-Slavery Methodists be warned, and be wise in time. Let all whose fellowship has been with the slave breeding and slave holding membership of [illegible]

no Peace!"

PERSONAL.

Referring to the case of Capt. Charles B. Wilder, the *Commonwealth* says—and we believe truly throughout:

Our readers will remember that a few months since we gave the particulars of the suspension of this officer from his duty as superintendent of freedmen at Fortress Monroe and vicinity, by order of Maj.-Gen. Ord, on charges embodying malfeasance in office, speculating in government property, and breach of trust. Gen. Ord preferred the charges, selected the members of the court martial board, and was himself the principal witness. We learn from the *Advertiser's* correspondence that the frivolous character of the charges was so apparent on the slightest investigation, that the judge-advocate abandoned all but that of speculating, in regard to which it was proven that Capt. Wilder had simply, as any other person might have done, bought real estate offered for sale by the civil authorities for non-payment of taxes. The court martial resulted in his acquittal on each of the charges and specifications, and he has been ordered to report to the quartermaster-general for duty. Gen. Howard is so well pleased with the system he inaugurated at Old Point Comfort, that he has asked for his assignment to Fredericksburg.

We have never doubted as to the result of this trial. It was a piece of petty persecution, suggested by pro-slavery malice. Capt. Wilder has been at Fortress Monroe over two years, and no one, of the hundreds who have consecrated themselves with true missionary spirit to the benefit of the freedmen, has labored more devotedly, more self-sacrificingly, or more successfully, than he; and yet during all his labors there, except during Gen. Butler's administration, he has met nothing but opposition, misrepresentation, and abuse. Gen. Butler understood him, sympathized with him, and did him justice. We are glad that Gen. Howard has become acquainted with his character, for he cannot fail to sympathize with an earnest, true man like Capt. Wilder.

A correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser*, refering to the supersedure of our old friend Fogg, pays the following tribute to his courteous hospitality:

I am sure that every one who has travelled in Switzerland during Mr. Fogg's tenure of office will agree with me in saying how constantly and successfully he has endeavored to increase the pleasure of his countrymen who have been thus privileged. It is a just matter of complaint that many of our diplomats are unwilling to extend to Americans those amenities which so materially add to a tour in strange lands; and it is a grateful task to make known the manner in which Mr. Fogg has treated Americans, and to bear witness to his uniform courtesy and cordiality. Every one, so far as I know, who has called upon him, has come away delighted with the kindness and zest with which he has striven to assist them. The effort to please, too, has evidently sprung from genuine generosity and good feeling. Mr. Fogg has made many friends in his own country by his sojourn at Berne, and on his return will find many wellwishers for a prosperous future.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, June 19th, 1865.

The celebration of the 17th of June—the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill—has of late years received more notice in Boston than formerly. This year the observance of it was connected with a very great Temperance demonstration. The procession, comprising fifty-nine Sunday Schools and other children's associations, and fifteen organizations of adults, was thought to number nearly or quite 18,000 persons, making the largest juvenile celebration ever held here. It was an hour and a half in passing a given point, and was viewed by an immense number of gratified spectators, in spite of the sultry character of the day, the mercury being above 90° during a considerable part of it. There was a great demand for the iced water which the city freely furnishes on such occasions at each of the six fountains on the Common, and hundreds of mugs were in active use all day long, giving practical illustration of the correctness of the mottoes on the children's banners. One of the colored Sunday Schools bore upon its banner "Equal rights for all men." Supposing this to have referred to the right of independence of foreign control (for which the Bunker Hill soldiers fought), and the right of having the city streets freed from the open display of allurements to intoxication (for which the Temperance Societies are striving), and the right of all men, irrespective of color, to vote in the election of those who are to govern them (a right now imperatively calling for the voices of all who are either just or loyal)—this motto was the broadest in its scope, and the most pertinent in its applications, of all that appeared in the great procession; embracing past, present, and future, and including both objects of the celebration.

Fine music, with numerous corps of juvenile drummers, regulated the march of the procession, and gratified the scores of thousands of spectators. After slowly making the tour of the Common, the procession concentrated itself in a Pavilion on the Parade Ground, where speeches and music were given. Afterwards a collation was provided in another tent, and then speaking was resumed in the Pavilion. A large and enthusiastic meeting in the Tremont Temple appropriately closed the services of the day.

On the same day an immense meeting was held in Lowell, for the dedication of a monument to two men, the first victims in that war which the slave power waged for four years against the United States. The appropriate inscription on one side of the monument is as follows:

"Addison O. Whitney, born in Waldo, Me., Oct. 30, 1839; Luther C. Ladd, born in Alexandria, N. H., Dec. 22, 1843; marched from Lowell in the 6th M. V. M., to the defence of the National Capital, and fell mortally wounded in the attack on their regiment while passing through Baltimore, April 19th, 1861. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the City of Lowell dedicate this monument to their memory."

"April 19, 1865."

The dedicatory address on this occasion was appropriately and effectively given by Governor Andrew. In rehearsing the facts of history connected with the event commemorated, he of course described the part taken by Maryland in sympathy with secession. The conversion of Maryland from this error, and the subsequent steps by which she united herself to the new policy of freedom are so well described by Governor Andrew that I beg you to print here the following passage from his discourse.

"Among the early results [of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation] was the conversion of Maryland, despite her former legislative resolves, to a free Commonwealth. The proclamation, powerless to emancipate the slaves in loyal States, had not unlocked the fetters of the Maryland slave. But by magnetic sympathy its idea had seized the minds of those who had controlled the State, and a new Constitution, of which the policy of emancipation was the soul, became the consequence. The new Constitution, framed by a convention which met the 27th of April, 1864, was in-

roduced by a declaration of rights, the first article of which is in these significant words :

"'We hold it to be self-evident that all men are created equally free; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the enjoyment of the proceeds of their own labor, and the pursuit of happiness.'

The twenty-fourth article of the declaration reads :

"'That hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free.'

"And the thirty-sixth section of the third article of the Constitution declares :

"'The General Assembly shall pass no law, nor make any appropriation to compensate the masters or claimants of slaves emancipated from servitude by the adoption of this Constitution.'

"Submitted to the adjudication of the people, this charter was adopted by their vote, and became the Constitution of Maryland, taking effect on the first day of November, in the year 1864. No hand of menace or threat of vengeance was ever raised by Massachusetts. She fulfilled her duty to the country by the march of her militia. She maintained her fidelity to the Union and to her sister Commonwealth. She awaited the time when history should become the vindicator of her conduct and avenge the blood of her children. Nor was the waiting vain. No sweeter triumph could have blessed her. The slaughter of her sons was disavowed and atoned for. The Government of the State called out four regiments to march shoulder to shoulder with our militia whose recall it had at first demanded. Secession was replaced by resolves and deeds in support of the war for the Union. Our own doctrines and principles concerning human liberty, so long denounced and despised, were embodied by the people of Maryland in their fundamental law. And finally, in her ratification on February 3, 1865, of the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery throughout the Union, Maryland led, by her example, Massachusetts herself. From the hour when your martyred brethren fell in Pratt street, the redemption of Maryland—the salvation of one of the "Old Thirteen," whose ancient fame is one with ours—and the emancipation of her bondmen were secure. The result came like the fulfilment of prophecy. It was the working of the wisdom and the love of God overruling the devices of men."

Immediately after this address came an affecting illustration of the sentiments expressed in the above expressed in the above extract, in the presentation of a beautiful banner, the U. S. flag, sent by the State of Maryland to the State of Massachusetts. The base of the staff, heavily bound with silver, bears these inscriptions —"Maryland to Massachusets, April 19, 1865,"—and—"May the union and friendship of the future obliterate the anguish of the past." Illness having prevented Governor Bradford's attendance, the presentation was made by a member of his Staff; and the banner was received and fitly acknowledged by Gov. Andrew.

The dinner which followed these proceedings was followed in its turn by toasts and speeches. The sentiment in honor of the Army and Navy was responded to by Gen. Butler [whose speech is given elsewhere].

To return to Boston, from which I have wandered—we have had a destructive visitation of canker-worms in this city. Throughout the State their ravages upon the apple-trees have been severe; here they prey chiefly upon elms, many of which are completely stripped of their verdure. Many rose-bushes, too, have been devoured by the canker-worms, and I have even seen them at work on the lilac, both the leaves and the flowers. Fortunately, they have finished their work, and are gone, for this season.

Boston has also been visited by a large number of clergymen, and these are likely to remain through the present week. They are of the Orthodox Congregational order, and are holding a "National Council" of the churches of that sect. The purpose seems to be to arrange plans of propagandism, especially for the West and South, where the competition of the Presbyterian order is found a serious obstacle to their increase. Among the means toward an enlargement of their denomination, it is proposed to consider the expediency of issuing a statement of Congregational Church Polity, and also a Declaration of the Christian faith, as held in common by Orthodox Congregational churches. They are to make, also, a classification of "benevolent" (by which they mean *propagandist*) organizations to be recommended to the patronage of the churches.

On the second day of their session the following message was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be immediately sent to Washington :

To His Excellency Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

The National Congregational Council now in session in this city, representing nearly three thousand churches in all sections of the country, desire to present you their Christian salutations, to assure you of their profound sympathy in your great and trying labors, to promise you their loyal support and prayers, and express their solemn conviction that the hundreds of thousands embraced as worshipers in our churches will most heartily co-operate with you in extending the institutions of civil and religious liberty throughout the land.

WM. A. BUCKINGHAM, Moderator.

Mount Vernon Church, Boston, June 15, 1865.

This body of ministers, with the lay delegates who accompany them, are sufficiently numerous to fill the floor of the Mount Vernon Church, (Rev. Dr. Kirk's,) where their meetings are held. Various gentlemen of distinction from England, Wales, France, and Canada, representing bodies of like faith and order in those countries, have spoken with acceptance in the council, and had seats assigned them as honorary members. Among these are our friend, Rev. Dr. Massie from London, and Rev. Theodore Monod, son of the distinguished Protestant preacher of that name in Paris. Most of these foreign gentlemen preached yesterday in Boston, and the neighboring towns and cities. Rev. Dr. J. P. Thompson of your city preached in the Unitarian Church of Rev. Edward E. Hale.

During the controversy that took place in regard to the fitness of placing a statue of Daniel Webster in front of the State-house in Boston, application was made to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and leave was granted by that body, to erect a statue of Horace Mann in the vacant spot opposite, on the left hand side of the avenue. A statue, deemed highly satisfactory by the friends of Mr. Mann, has been made by Miss Stebbins, and has arrived in Boston; and workmen are now making measurements for its erection on the spot in question.

NORTH.

EARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

BOSTON, Tuesday morning, June 13.

I HAVE just returned from Longwood, Pennsylvania, where I have had the pleasure of attending the sittings of the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends.

In company with Mr. Garrison, I left this city on Thursday last. We reached Longwood the following evening, and were received under the truly hospitable roof of John and Hannah Cox, by whom we were entertained until yesterday morning. Our stay was rendered as agreeable as kindness of treatment, abundance of good fare, social intercourse with some of the excellent of the earth, and the most delightful weather could make it.

The sessions of the Yearly Meeting commenced on Thursday morning, and were continued until Saturday evening. The attendance was extremely numerous. On every occasion, the Longwood meeting-house was densely crowded, and should have been double or treble its size to have afforded sufficient accommodation for the eager throng that sought admission. Amongst those who, during the three days, delivered addresses, were Mrs. Frances D. Gage, Annie M. Stamback, M. D., Dr. Cameron and Dr. Pusey Heald of Wilmington, Del.; Rev. Charles G. Ames, of Albany; Bennett Walters (of minister in the Society of Friends), and Messrs. ..., Oliver Johnson, Chandler Darlington, Thomas ...ock, and myself.

...e course of the proceedings, "Testimonies" ...epared, submitted, considered, and adopted, upon the following subjects :

1. To the memory of departed members of the Meeting.
2. Slavery and the Rebellion.
3. The extension of the Suffrage, without distinction of color.
4. The Assassination of President Lincoln.
5. Peace.
6. Temperance.
7. Religion, and
8. The Right of Woman.

The Meeting also adopted—

1. A petition to State Legislatures in favor of the removal from their statute-books of the word "*white;*"
2. A petition to Congress, in favor of an Amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting all legislation based upon distinctions in regard to race or complexion :
3. A memorial to the President of the United States, calling upon him to exercise his constitutional powers in favor of the extension of the suffrage to the colored population in the late rebel States.

A very large number of those who had been present at the sittings of the Yearly Meeting were present at the meeting held for worship on Sunday morning, when, after an address from Mr. M'Clintock, Mr. Thompson delivered a discourse upon the decline and approaching extinction of those powers throughout the world which have been most opposed to the spread of the principles of liberty, and to the diffusion of truth among mankind. Mr. Garrison followed in an able and impressive address upon the importance of exposing and denouncing the preposterous pretensions of the Pope, as set forth in his recent Encyclical letter.

Mr. John Hutchinson was present at all the meetings, and responded to the many calls made upon him for the exercise of his vocal powers.

Mr. Garrison lectured last evening in Norristown, and to-day will lecture at 2, p. m., in Newtown. He may be expected in Boston on Saturday or Monday next.

GEO. THOMPSON, *in the Liberator.*

APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

To the Editor of the Standard:

IT has been asserted, with no reason, in my humble opinion, that slavery is dead. Allow me to observe that this is, if not completely erroneous, at least quite hazardous to affirm. The proposed Constitutional Amendment, even if unanimously voted by Congress, and ratified by the legal number of States, will not bring slavery to its grave. Slavery, although abolished by a Constitutional Proviso, will still live in spirit; and until that spirit is crushed down forever we are bound to stand at the breach. We must not content ourselves with void words or legal provisos. We have already had many a proviso on that subject, and at the end we have been obliged to wage war against our erring and frenzied brothers. Long time ago, feudalism ceased to exist among the European communities; but, notwithstanding that fact, and after so many bloody revolutions, the spirit of feudalism still pervades all their social transactions. The doctrine of divine right, the privileges of the so-called noble class, the absurd pretensions of the Roman Church, and many other institutions, will justify our assertion. We must not give up until the negro is in peaceful possession of all his natural rights—until he has in his hands those three *boxes*, so cherished and so justly appreciated by the illustrious Fred. Douglass—and under no consideration leave him at the mercy of that class which, even now, puts forth the stupid question of races against the indisputable unity of the great human family. The American people, purified by its baptism of blood of its great national sin, will fairly acknowledge that it is an act of justice, and by no means of reward, due to the negro. The blacks of this country have appeared pre-eminently in all its supreme conflicts, and fought bravely by Washington, Jackson, and Grant! And if their white oppressors can boast of heroes and martyrs immolated on the altars of freedom and liberty, they also can count them by hundreds of thousands all over the American land. In the United States, *Nat Turner, Hancock, Martin*, Mobile, Fort Hudson, Fort Wagner, Fort Pillow, etc.; in Spanish America, against the Spanish hordes, during the War of Independence; in Cuba Aponte, Placido, the greatest Cuban poet; F. Vargas, Captain of the Cuban Colored Militia; Andrew Dodge, a famous dentist; N. Caballos, a colored man of great ability, honesty and wealth; Pimienta, Roman, Blakle, Nunez, Quinones, and hundreds and hundreds coldly murdered by Gen. O'Donnell—some of them on the scaffold, and the great majority under the terrible lash; and, above all, the numberless victims slain in Hayti by the French soldiery; that most noble specimen of the human race, Toussaint L'Ouverture, murdered by the first Napoleon in the dark donjon of Fort Joux!

We cheerfully recognize that Abolitionism, sanctified by martyrdom, will at last succeed in planting its triumphant banners all over the American Union. But this gigantic victory does not settle the negro question, since the slave's manumission does not imply, at this hour, the moral, civil, and political emancipation of the *man.*

We must impress, furthermore, upon the American people, that its holy mission is not purely national; for me, it is an universal one. The effect of Abraham Lincoln's murder, all over the world, is an evident proof of my assertion. And that mission is to carry on throughout the earth the noble principles of American democracy, and to help all the nations in the attainment of the blessing of liberty and equality. Freedom is God's most valuable gift and humanity's most precious birthright. Slavery is the offspring of our spirit of race and our contemptible love of gold; let us blot it out for ever and ever. This is our duty here and elsewhere.

We have spoken at length with regard to the United States. Let us turn our regards beyond the Mexican Gulf, and we shall discover millions of human beings waiting on their knees the hour of their redemption. In those lands the mission of the Abolitionists assumes a new character. There whites and blacks expect everything from the powerful influence of the American people. Those countries are bent under the monarchical yoke; and it is useless to explain that under such a *regime* individuals have neither voice nor vote upon the solution of the most momentous questions. Without free press, free speech, and free worship, and no other law than the absolute will of the despots, masters and serfs have to suffer silently the consequences of this most barbarous institution, unable to provide in any way for its gradual or immediate abolition, because the supreme government finds in its maintainance the most efficacious element of despotism and wealth. The abolition of slavery in the United States, and the re-establishment of peace and order throughout the land, will make easier the accomplishment of this grand enterprise there. The more so, as the Abolitionists of those countries will join their efforts to ours, in spite of the hindrances and persecutions with which the crowned abettors of slavery and their blasphemous supporters (the Roman clergy) will try to baffle our noble and peaceful propaganda. They have been our worst enemies during our civil contest, the Spanish authorities of Cuba acting, as usually, *under a double set of instructions.* Cuba, since the outbreaking of the rebellion, has become the naval and military arsenal of all the enemies of American democracy; for the Spaniards against the heroic Dominican Republic; for the French intruders against the Mexican people, and for the rebels against the American Union, now victorious and stronger than ever, and ready to bring to account all the miserable conspirators, at home and abroad, against the popular institutions of the New World, now and forever, under the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

A pamphlet signed by several *Cuban slaveholders*, has just reached this country, which confirms our ideas with regard to the slavery question.

The Cuban slaveholders who sign this paper, and whom we consider more anxious in securing to Spain the undisturbed possession of her colonies, than in accomplishing their selfish scheme of emancipation, appear to have come to this conclusion after the collapse of their late bulwark, the late Jeff. Davis Confederacy. Those who undersign the paper make a poor description of the American struggle. They make of it a disgraceful strife for power, where no principles have been at stake, and they do not conceal the panic they are possessed of at the idea of seeing any of your army corps embark in a new expedition against Cuba and Porto Rico, with the purpose of abolishing slavery. By the way, let us state that they repeat the old stupid saying that the Northern armies are a set of rascals, the lees of all the nations of the earth, and who will go to Cuba, not for the sake of her independence and general welfare, but simply to steal, burn, and destroy as they have done in the Southern States during their four years exterminating war. Now again; these Abolitionists of the now stamp propose to prevent all future dangers, and to dissipate the causes of their fears with regard to an armed intervention in favor of our enslaved population, abolishing the *name slavery*, and perpetrating the patriarchal institution under the style of *Colonization*, not to offend the ears of the civilized world.

Their plan is contained in the following articles, viz:—

1. Hereafter, every new-born in Cuba, child of a slave mother shall be free, remaining under the guardianship of her mother's master until the age of ten, without any retribution whatever, and from ten to twenty with a small salary, to be progressively raised, it being the patrons' obligation to feed it, to educate and to provide for it in every respect, it being understood, that if his or her mother or father become free and wish to take him or her in charge they shall obtain it.

2. "The appellation *slave* shall be abolished in the Island of Cuba, the present slaves to remain under the condition of *colonists*, similar to that of the Chinese, though subjected for the term of twenty years to the same labor and services they are now performing; it being understood that, valued or apppraised at the moment of the publication of the decree, every year of service will be equivalent to the 20th of their value; so that a negro, who, ten years after the change of his condition of a slave for that of a colonist, would like to redeem his contract, will have to pay to his patron only one half of his valuation and so in proportion, according to the number of years he has served; the patrons being able to transfer the contracts from one to another, making the payment proportional to the primitive value of he who was a serf, and to the number of years already served.

3. All traffickers in slaves, and African slave-traders will be considered as pirates, and so too the purchasers of such slaves.

4. The government will order a register to be kept in every governorship and lieutenant-governorship, where will be recorded the number of slaves who become *colonists* and owned by each slave-holder, specifying the age, description, and value fixed to each of them, and stating in said register the successive transfers with both the transferrer and transferee's name. A schedule on paper, specifying his rights will be given to every *slave-owner*, or rather *patron*, with the understanding that any colored person not inscribed in that register, or who does not appear in schedule or paper, six months after the publication of the decree, shall be declared free, excepting those who were runaway's at the epoch of the inscription.

5. It will be established in Cuba, and under the same basis the memorandum book used in Porto Rico for the class of white and colored laborers, in order that they may severely punish every one who shall not be employed on a constant labor, representing at least the value of their wants and those of their families.

We will conclude this long letter by reminding all honest men; 1st—That the moral and social evils produced everywhere by the regulation of labor are too self-evident and notorious to need a new exposition with regard to this case; and 2nd—that the change of name in their condition, on the part of the Spanish slaves, is not a reparation for the crimes and outrages which have been committed against the negro race during the long while of four centuries; furthermore, when we shall declare that the so-called *Chinese colonization* is the same monster of slavery baptized with a christian name, as will be plainly proved by a reading of the regulations ruling the *pseudo colonists.* After these brief remarks, any impartial judge will decide if we are right or wrong in calling the attention of the civilized world, principally of the United States and England, against the Spanish emancipation scheme, and in insisting on our strong conviction that the hardest part of the Abolitionist's task has just begun; and finally, that far from having struck the hour to lay down their arms, it is most necessary on their part to place double sentries, not to lose sight of their insidious enemy.

F. DE P. S.

THE LAST GREAT CRIME OF THE NATION.

AFTER the heavy judgments of God have been laid upon the Nation in a four years' war, in which millions of property have been destroyed and hundreds of thousands of lives have been sacrificed in punishment of the land for the oppressions of the colored race; and when the opportunity has been placed in our hand, by the Providence of God, to do justice to this race, the President has deliberately, by proclamation, disfranchised them in all the rebel States, and placed their social and political rights and happiness in the power of their white oppressors! and the people seem disposed to sustain him in this policy.

Is this the lesson this people has learned under the terrible teachings of the last four years of fire and blood! Do we thus invoke the curse of four millions of people whose wrongs, for two hundred years, have cried to Heaven for redress? Will we crown those wrongs with this new crucifixion? and that at the hands of a man who sprung from a condition as near that of the negro's as it is possible for a poor white to derive his origin? Shall this executioner be the man, who, as Governor of Tennessee, promised them full equal rights, and who holds his present position at the head of the Nation, because the loyalty and the strong arms of the blacks made the continuance of the Nation possible? God has said to every Ruler, "thou shalt not respect persons in judgment;" and does the President suppose he can do this forbidden thing with impunity, as though the Almighty was in the habit of speaking in jest? And does he suppose this war, out of which we seem to be emerging, was brought on the land for the benefit of the white race, using the negro for that end, and that being accomplished, Heaven will now shower the blessings of peace upon the Nation and rest indifferent to our treatment of the colored race? Let him know and let the people know that God's purpose was far otherwise; that it was, first of all, to deliver the black race from slavery and all oppression; and that, as sure as He lives and changes not, that object shall be accomplished, though it were necessary that every white man should, like the army of Senacharib, be smitten by the angel of death, or be whelmed in destruction, like Pharaoh's hosts in the Red Sea. The causes that shall work this result are wrapped up in this very policy. Rebels in spirit will again come into power and work the oppression of the blacks under new forms, and will find a strong party, among the Copperheads, pro-slavery men and conservatives of the North, to back them; and the government having committed the fatal mistake of admitting them again to power, for the sake of peace, will have to yield to their demands and compromise the claims of justice more and more, until the oppressed race, increased to five or six millions, no longer able or willing to endure their sufferings, will rise to throw off the yoke of their oppressors and will reënact the scenes of horror and blood that, under similar circumstances, once desolated the fair Island of St. Domingo. And when that awful hour arrives, it will be found, according to the prophetic declaration of Jefferson, uttered in view of such a possible event, that "the Almighty has no attribute that will not take sides with the oppressed against the oppressor." And with the array of such almighty forces against us, who can doubt that the oppressed race will be vindicated and delivered, and their persecutors and oppressors be overwhelmed with destruction. In the language of the same statesman, "Nothing can be more certain." And surely nothing can be more just; for, mark, "out of its own mouth shall the Nation be judged."

When this people began its national career, it made this declaration: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that *all men are created equal;* and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain *inalienable* rights; that among these are *life, liberty*, and the *pursuit of happiness.* That to *secure these rights, governments are instituted among men*, deriving their just powers from the *consent of the governed;* that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it."

To this declaration the Nation, up to this hour, has perfidiously given the lie, though, in the same declaration, they "appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions." Such astonishing recreancy to principles, so solemnly affirmed, was never before known since the foundation of the world, and could not but bring upon the land the terrible judgments of God. Jefferson "trembled for his country—to quote again his language—when he remembered that God is just, and that His justice cannot sleep forever." And he declared that "the time would come when the Almighty, moved by the cries of the oppressed, would, by His *exterminating thunder*, show His attention to the affairs of this world." His thunders we have heard, and the lightnings of His wrath have smitten the land. Those thunders will again be heard, and His wrathful lightnings will again flash His fiery judgments upon the Nation, if we refuse to do complete justice to the down-trodden colored race.

The Nation is now rejoicing for its triumph over the late revolt; and, in its pride, is boasting of the strength of its Democratic government, as though it were the wisdom and strength of the people that have thus far subdued the rebellion, and not God who has done it, despite their folly and mad policy. Was ever greater folly displayed than this people manifested, in their treatment of this slaveholders' rebellion? Was ever policy more mad than that which, in the early stages of the war, sought to put down the revolt by placing our soldiers on guard for the protection of the slave system of the enemy, at once both the cause and the strength of the rebellion?—a policy that was only beaten out of us by the scourging lash of the Almighty. Thus our salvation, so far as obtained, has only been achieved by the use our disasters and fears have forced us to make of the black man. And now, without repentance for our long oppression of the colored race, and without gratitude, either to them or to God, for the great deliverance we have obtained by their aid, we propose to elevate their and our enemies, while we leave them under the heel of their old oppressors, to be still the victims of universal scorn and hate! What baseness! what treachery! what black injustice! I cannot believe that God will let this Nation slip out of his hand with the chuckle that, by pretence of humanity to the black man, in giving him nominal freedom, they have enlisted the Almighty on their side, till, as they think, victory is made sure, and now they will fling the black millions back into a second hell of oppression, in which disfranchisement and all its concomitant floutings, knaveries, cruelties, and murders intermingle in one infernal storm to beat upon their devoted heads. No, not thus, O ye Yankee Nation, will ye escape the grasp of the Negro's God! The next time He makes inquisition for blood, He will not deliver, but *"laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh."*

I will not argue, I will not plead, but proclaim the inevitable doom. Argument is wasted on a people, who, while the thunders of God's judgments are still lingering in the heavens, will commit a crime so audacious, so cruel, and inhuman. When all the plagues fell on Egypt to no purpose, down went the tyrant and his hosts to the bottom of the Red Sea; "the horse and his rider; the sea covered them; they sank as lead in the mighty waters." If reason, justice, humanity, may not move you to repentance, O, oppressing Nation, let the drawn sword of the Almighty, flashing wrath and portending thy inevitable doom, if thou pass on, cause thee to halt, and redeem thy oath, by securing the "rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to all the people of the land—to the black race as well as to the white.

D. PLUMB.

New York, June 14, 1865.

LABORS OF MISS HOLLEY.

LUDLOWVILLE, TOMPKINS CO., N. Y., June 13, 1865.

MR. EDITOR : How can I describe to you this sweet romantic seclusion of Ludlowville? It belongs to Charles Lamb's "unspeakable rural solitudes." If you had been in some of those prettily hill-embosomed, evergreen, embowered hamlets in Vermont, the loveliest piece of green earth I have ever seen, and I can well believe that *eye* hath ever seen. I could tell you this is more like that, than anything I remember in Western New York.

The gorge through which the little Salmon creek flows and falls in delicate, trickling cascades, making pleasant music and murmur across the garden all the day long—this ravine is as inviting a sylvan retreat as can engage one for a summer day's ramble. The hemlock tree abounds with tender, light, green tips on every bough. Its elegant foliage and fine green is always grateful to the eye.

But better than this charming scenery of tree, and moss, and rock, and lapsing water, is the good MAN and true, of steadfast principle, who has ever welcomed the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society to his beautiful home—that they may speak to his neighbors of the vital importance of justice and liberty.

So now, as twice before in fifteen years, does the slaves-proved-friend, James A. Burr, give cordial welcome to us for the sake of the idea that American citizenship must be without distinction of color or race. He believes with Mr. Charles Sumner, "Colored Suffrage in the Rebel States is now the pivot of national safety."

His life and his talk have been a power and blessing to his community. It is by ideas we conquer more than by armies or by votes.

The quiet June Sabbath was consecrated by Miss Holley's plea, to a full and attentive audience, in the village church, for the rights of loyal black men who have so bravely done their part to secure our Republic to us and to the world—

"The home of hope to the whole human race."

Mr. Benjamin Joy, an earnest, devoted worker for temperance and freedom, was present, and contributed to the interest of the meeting by singing, with the children of the Lyon family, some excellent patriotic pieces, among others Whittier's "Negro Boatman's Song," with the refrain—

"The yarn will grow, the cotton blow.
And we shall have the rice and corn.
But nebber you fear if nebber you hear.
The driver blow his horn."

Mr. Joy acknowledged pleasantly, that he was made a convert to woman's speaking in public fifteen years ago, when he first heard Miss Holley speak in that church.

The Divine sentiment of justice finds response in the human soul wherever it is uttered, in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol or the humblest school-house in the land; and in every spot where there are men and women does it need now to be spoken.

Never was there an hour of more solemn hope for a nation than this. Every conscience in the land needs to be roused to see that our great agony of suffering and sacrifice shall result in the secured right of the blacks (whose instinct is loyalty), to defend and protect our liberties as well as their own, by the ballot, as they have done by the bayonet.

The defeated disloyalists have laid down their arms, with special war in their hearts on these former victims of their cruel tyranny. Let all the world cry shame to the proposal to leave these defenceless millions again in the hands of the barbarous white legislators of the South!

Miss Holley will continue to hold meetings in the villages along the banks of this beautiful Cayuga Lake, for several weeks.

O. F. P.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE IN THE REBEL STATES.

To the Editor of the Standard.

IN the rebel States, the rebels themselves are selected by President Johnson as being the people, and invested with the attributes of State Sovereignty as such. The rebels are appointed by proclamation of the President to assume the sole power, and to act accordingly, to the exclusion of the loyal inhabitants. The loyal inhabitants, being of the colored race, are not the people. Only the rebels can rule, only the disloyal are the people.

Take, for example, the latest trial of government by proclamation instead of Congress and established law, upon the rebel State of Mississippi. The President proclaims that no person shall be qualified as an elector for the restoration of State Sovereignty, a government by the people, unless he is a voter qualified as prescribed by the Constitution and laws of the State of Mississippi, in force immediately before the 9th of January, 1861: the date of the so-called ordinance of secession. The colored race, who were and are the only loyal persons, are excluded by this artifice.

But what is, if possible, still worse, the very identical rebels who took the State of Mississippi out of the Union, by means of their being voters at that time, and who set the white people of the State in armed rebellion against the United States government, and have continued and led them in such rebellion, by means of their being the sole voters, are the sole persons who are now appointed by the President's Proclamation to bear rule in the State. They only are permitted to vote, and to make a Constitution, and to elect, and qualify the rulers. The rebels, who carried the State into rebellion, are rewarded by the President, with the exclusive privilege of governing the State and of being the only people in it.

They who were qualified as voters in February, 1861, are they who established the State in its treason, making themselves traitors, and rebels, for that purpose. They who were then qualified as voters, are the persons selected, and appointed by President Johnson, as the only voters, and rulers now, to the exclusion of the loyal colored race.

But still worse if possible; they who were qualified as voters in 1861, and, by this means, took the State into treason, and rebellion, did, by their own act, repudiate, and nullify the very Constitution, under which, they got their right to vote, and chose for themselves, a new rebel Constitution, throwing away the former loyal Constitution and putting their very right to vote in antagonism against the right of the United States government to hold them in allegiance. And now President Johnson, by proclamation, calling on the rebels to make for themselves a new State Constitution, reësta blishes for them so much of the old Constitution, which they had rejected, as could give to white rebels the sole right of voting, and would exclude the loyal citizens therefrom by means of excluding the colored race.

President Johnson appoints a Constitution for the people by Proclamation, so far as to determine beforehand who are the people and who are not, who shall vote and who shall not. He does this in the same Proclamation in which he calls upon the people to make their own Constitution. He has already done it for them in the more essential and important respects. He shovels them about, by proclamation, as a collier would his coals. He creates the people, and impeoples them, by his own word. He throws them into the State-screener of the Old Constitution, which they themselves had broken to pieces and cast away, and they come out voters, by virtue of having been white rebels. They come out, the people, by virtue of having been voters when they took the State into rebellion. The white rebels come out, as the only people and voters of the State. The colored race, the only loyal part of the people of the State, are screened and thrown into the highway as being no part of the people, because of their color, but only mudsills, fit to be trodden under feet. This is President Johnson's government by proclamation. This is his guarantee of the benefits of a republican form of government to the people of Mississippi. This is his scheme of justice, humanity, and equality. This is his *agrarianism*, as he told the children of the Sabbath School in Washington, levelling upwards, not downward, raising the white race, by standing on the bodies of the black race. Is this to be our Republicanism?

W. JENNINGS DEMOREST.

NORTHERN LABORERS—ATTENTION!

NEW YORK, June 10, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard.

RESPECTED SIR : In your issue of the 10th inst., you give, from the Richmond *Republic*, under the heading of "How the Freedman Fares," a report of a meeting of the farmers of Virginia, held at Louisa Court House, in which the following rate of prices was ordained as a proper remuneration for their workingmen:

For agricultural laborers $5 per month—the negro finding his clothing and paying his doctor's bills.

In harvest time $1 per day.

The extract closes with the following ominous words: *These prices far exceed those paid for agricultural labor in Europe and should be satisfactory to all parties.*

Thus the minimum price of agricultural labor in the United States is fixed by Virginia employers to suit themselves. Workingmen of the North, now is the time to speak out! It pertains to you to reply to this. Your wages will soon be re-adjusted on the above-mentioned basis. If your Christianity permits you to stand by idly, and see your colored brethren oppressed, have a little respect for your own interest. The labor system of the country is one now, and the blow that is aimed at your brother in the South to-day, will strike you full in the breast to-morrow.

JOHN.

A. R. ABBOTT, Acting Assistant Surgeon, United States Army, in charge of the Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, D. C., acknowledges the receipt of a box of useful articles from the Colored Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society, Cleveland, Ohio, for the use of sick and wounded soldiers in the hospital.

THE SUFFERING FREEDMEN.

WE are assured, says the *Tribune*, that very many of the late slaves of South Carolina, whom nobody will hire or pay, are now living in underground burrows, and, having obtained the privilege of cultivating patches of abandoned plantations, are cultivating crops of corn, etc., with sharpened sticks for want of better implements. In their behalf, we print, by request, the following:

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 9, 1865.

DEAR SIR: In view of the great destitution of the freedmen under my supervision, I most gladly avail myself of your noble suggestion, and note such articles as would add vastly to their comfort, if not save even the lives of hundreds of these suffering people:

Axes, 200; hoes, 1,000; plows (small), 50; iron pots, 200; tin plates, 1,000; tin dishes (pint, quart and larger), 1,000; hammers and hatchets, 500; iron spoons, 1,000.

Nails would contribute much to their comfort also, as many of them are compelled to burrow, who would like a shelter above ground. I have limited the number and kinds of articles solicited, but you need not feel obliged to come up to the requisition, nor need you hesitate to go even beyond should you find hearts and purses adequate.

You, dear sir, have had the opportunity to witness something of the want and distress which stare in the face these long-oppressed and terribly-neglected people; but, from my position, I witness every day and hour suffering sufficient to move a heart of stone.

Any of the above-enumerated articles, or others of similar need, will be most thankfully received and distributed where every article will answer a most humane and vital purpose.

I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

G. PILLSBURY,
General Superintendent Freedmen.

I. W. ENGLAND, Esq., Treasury Agent.

[If accounts like the above are true in the department of Gen. Saxton, who, as all about him testify, has ever shown himself a perfect Providence to the despised negroes, what may not be expected of most of the millions who are now under Presidential proclamation, again hurled back at the feet of their old masters, more maddened against them than ever before, with no Gen. Saxton to shield them from their rage and fury?]

KANSAS CORRESPONDENCE.

From the Philadelphia Christian Recorder.

MR. EDITOR : Having closed our session in the city of Indianapolis, we are recuperating in Leavenworth, Kansas, and, by the way, have noted a few things we have seen, and herewith transmit them, hoping they may interest your readers.

The day of National humiliation was celebrated at Fort Leavenworth by the colored battery, commanded by Capt. H. Ford Douglass and Lieut. W. Mathews. The citizens were invited to participate with them. A beautiful grove was selected and a stand erected, and the emblem of our country thrown to the breeze. The exercises were opened by prayer, by the pastor of the Baptist Church. Speeches were delivered by Capt. H. F. Douglass, in his accomplished and masterly style, on that great and important subject, "The Right of Suffrage to Colored men." The Captain was eloquent, and at the same time very pointed, showing a thorough knowledge of the Constitution and of the Convention of the Fathers who framed that instrument. Many officers of various grades, from the fort, listened to the Captain with great attention, and the soldiers, also, seemed to give him their utmost attention and approval. It was really a novel sight to see colored officers and white officers on the same stand, and colored and white soldiers surrounding that stand, listening to speeches claiming equality for the black soldier.

Colonel Davis was the next speaker. He alluded to the great and daring deeds of the colored soldiers, and closed by declaring that the vote of the colored man would be needed at the ballot-box, as well as his arm in the field to complete the victory over the rebels. Col. Hoyt followed. It was he, I believe, that defended the old martyr, John Brown. He is a young lawyer from Massachusetts. His speech was short, but very sarcastic and bitter towards the officials of the government in reference to their bad treatment of anti-slavery officers and their kind treatment to rebels.

Mr. C. H. Langston, spoke next. He reviewed the rebellion from the beginning, and expressed himself very plainly in reference to the Administration, the rebels, and our race, which he understood pretty well, having had considerable experience in that direction. His review was complete, and all appeared pleased.

Lieut. W. Mathews and Miss Susan B. Anthony were the next speakers. But as we had another engagement, we reluctantly left without hearing them.

Advertisements.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON.—Portraits, two views, with Temperament, Character, and Biography. JULIUS CÆSAR, his Physiognomy and Phrenology, with likeness and Sketch of Character, in JULY NO. PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL. 20 cents. FOWLER & WELLS, N. Y.

THE LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.—This Society is earnestly engaged in producing works that will materially aid the Anti-Slavery cause. The Society is circulating freely the writings of Dr. Lieber on the Amendment of the Constitution. It has published the speech of the Hon. M. E. Kelley, W. W. Broom's work on the "Crimes of the South," and Mr. Nordhoff's useful condensation of Olmsted's Travels. Large quantities of these works have been sent to Charleston, Richmond, Kentucky, Wilmington, and Arkansas. The Society has determined to do all it can for the utter extinction of slavery in our Republic. The rooms of the Society are at 863 Broadway.

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Our Nation now is free;
Echo the chorus wide,
Proclaim the Jubilee."
This Jubilant and Popular Song ought to be found on every piano, and sung by every patriot on the coming Fourth of July. Price 30 cents, post free. Published by W. JENNINGS DEMOREST, No. 39 Beckman st., and sold by all Music Dealers. Do not fail to get the JUBILEE PRIZE SONG.

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SUBSCRIPTION AGENT,
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PHILADELPHIA.

6—tf.

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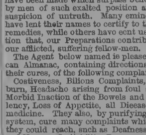

Are the most perfect purgative which we are able to produce or which we think has ever yet been made by anybody. Their effects have abundantly shown to the community how much they excel the ordinary medicines in use. They are safe and pleasant to take, but powerful to cure. Their penetrating properties stimulate the vital activities of the body, remove the obstructions of its organs, purify the blood, and expel disease. They purge out the foul humors which breed and grow distemper, stimulate sluggish or disordered organs into their natural action, and impart a healthy tone with strength to the whole system. Not only do they cure the every-day complaints of everybody, but also formidable and dangerous diseases. While they produce powerful effects, they are at the same time, in diminished doses, the safest and best physic that can be employed for children. Being sugar-coated, they are pleasant to take; and, being purely vegetable, are free from any risk of harm. Cures have been made which surpass belief, were they not substantiated by men of such exalted position and character, as to forbid the suspicion of untruth. Many eminent clergymen and physicians have lent their names to certify to the public the reliability of our remedies, while others have sent us the assurance of their conviction that our Preparations contribute immensely to the relief of our afflicted, suffering fellow-men.

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Miscellaneous Department.

SONNET.

The [illegible] most grandly conceived [illegible] in our language.'—[illegible]

Mysterious Night! When our first Parent knew
Thee from report [illegible], and heard thy name,
Did he not tremble for this lovely frame—
This glorious Canopy of Light and Blue?
Yet 'neath a curtain of translucent dew,
Bathed in the rays of the great setting Flame,
[illegible] with the host of heaven came,
And lo! Creation widened in man's view.
Who could have thought such darkness lay concealed
[illegible]
Whilst fly and leaf and insect stood revealed.
[illegible]
Why do we then shun Death with anxious strife?
If Light can thus deceive, wherefore not Life?

THE ATLANTIC CABLE RAID

From the London Saturday Review.

The Atlantic cable is finished, and the first act of a magnificent enterprise is completed with an amount of success which augurs well for the final triumph of the undertaking. In its way, the construction of such a cable is one of the greatest feats of scientific and mechanical skill which even our times can boast. The requirements, indeed, are such as might well have appalled the most adventurous of engineers. The mere selection of the design, and the choice of materials, involved at every step considerations of the highest scientific refinement. The copper conductor had to be made of metal tested up to a quality which had never before been reached, the gutta-percha covering was to possess an insulating power equally beyond what had ever been attained; the true proportion between the diameters of the conductor and the insulating coating was determined by mathematical investigations of the highest order, so as to obtain, with a given amount of material, the utmost possible rate of transmission of signals. Not less care was needed to fix the precise character of the outer coating, the function of which is simply to strengthen and preserve the core, which alone constitutes the electric cable, properly so termed. In the first place, a large measure of strength was insisted on, about double that which had been thought sufficient on the first trial. Still further to relieve the rope from the strain to which it will be subjected in the process of laying, and even after it has reached its final position, in every place where the rocky character of the ocean-bed may throw it into festoons from ridge to ridge of the submarine mountains, it was determined to reduce the specific gravity of the cable far below that of its unlucky predecessor. Partly with this view, and partly in the hope of securing greater longevity, each iron strand of the outer casing is separately covered with hemp soaked in a bituminous preparation, which is expected to protect the metal for years from the risk of corrosion. It was necessary too, above all things, that the cable should not only be constructed on the soundest principles, but that it should admit of the most searching tests before being laid, once for all, out of the reach of human hands.

The Atlantic Company have in many respects been the pioneers of telegraphic enterprise, and their present work shows the progress which their own misfortunes have enabled them to make. Up to this time, they have enjoyed the credit of teaching others by their failures how to succeed in attempts on a much smaller scale. Now they are applying their experience for their own guidance towards the prosperous issue which every one must hope for. The testing process is only one illustration, though one of the most striking, of the advance that has been made since the first cable entered upon its brief existence. The old Company was (after the event, of course) very much blamed for attempting to lay a cable which had never been tested under water, which was much the same thing as if it had never been tested at all. That it was rash to venture so large a stake on the assumed perfection of every inch of 3,000 miles of delicate work is now at any rate obvious enough, but outside critics did not always take account of the real difficulties which stood in the way of effectual testing. The old cable was light, and the iron wires of the casing were not protected by an impervious coating. Testing under water would therefore have tended to corrode and weaken a rope which was known to be already dangerously weak. This time the protection of the strands, and their greater thickness, enable the testing process to go on without any chance of deterioration. Every yard of the cable in fact has lived under water almost from the hour of its completion, and from morning till night the electrical pulse has been felt by means of instruments of the extremest delicacy. Yet further to assimilate the probationary state of the cable to its ultimate condition, care has been taken (for the first time, we believe, in the construction of telegraphic cables) to surround the case with a coating through which the moisture can penetrate at once to the gutta-percha itself. While the casing of each iron strand is made as impervious as possible, the water which penetrates between the strands finds nothing but untarred jute between it and the gutta-percha, so that the effect of water in detecting the smallest flaw in the insulating material is felt as fully during the preliminary trials as it will be at the bottom of the ocean. It is impossible to give by any description an adequate idea of the delicacy of the instruments by which the insulation is tested. As every one knows, the measure of a galvanic current is supplied by ascertaining how far it will deflect a magnetic needle from its natural position. Three conditions are essential to give sensitiveness to such an instrument—one, that the needle should move almost without friction or inertia; another, that its own directive force to the north, which the current through the cable has to overcome, should be extremely small; and the third, that the smallest deflection of the needle should produce a greatly exaggerated movement on the scale which is read off. These conditions are secured to an almost incredible extent by Professor Thomson's reflecting instrument. The needle is a minute bit of steel only a fraction of an inch in length. It is suspended by a thread with scarcely appreciable torsion, and its directive power is made as feeble as may be desired by the proximity of correcting magnets. At the same time, every movement of the minutest kind is exaggerated *ad libitum* by the simple device of attaching to the needle a mirror, which reflects the light of a lamp on to a distant scale, showing a fine line of light which traverses many inches when the needle moves to an extent barely appreciable by the naked eye. The way in which this searching detector is used is very simple. The portion of cable under trial, consisting, it may be, of hundreds and ultimately of thousands of miles, has one end connected with a powerful battery, while the other, instead of being brought to earth or water, remains open, so as to leave no exit for the charge, except by leakage through the gutta-percha covering, into the water that surrounds it. The more escape there is, the stronger will be the current passing through the conductor. If the insulation were absolutely perfect, the cable once charged would show no current at all, and the most delicate galvanometer would show no deflection. What the instrument [illegible] the rate of leakage, and some idea of the near approach which the cable makes to an absolutely [illegible] condition (if we may coin the word) may be conveyed by saying that the whole [illegible] hundreds of miles of cable only [illegible] of the same order as that [illegible] the instrument used at the common [illegible] ship passes down in [illegible] practical purposes the insulation is absolutely perfect.

Another [illegible] is to charge the cable [illegible] then remove the battery and [illegible] the charge is retained. All that [illegible] purposes is that a substantial [illegible] the charge should remain during the [illegible] a single signal will be sufficient to [illegible] but lose half its charge [illegible] the present cable holds half a charge [illegible] quarter of an hour, and [illegible] protection than it [illegible] as strongest that [illegible] they have got a [illegible] to ask for. [illegible] it is certain that the [illegible] break down from the [illegible] at once marched [illegible] increased the [illegible]

The other risks are of a different kind; but the temporary success, such as it was, of the original cable shows that they are not insurmountable, and goes to show that they are reduced by the application of the same skill which has produced every other department of the work. Once, it will be remembered, the old Atlantic cable broke when only a few hundred miles were laid, but the new cable will bear eleven miles of its own weight in water, while the other one was able to carry less than five miles. With this enormous increase of strength, it was not perhaps necessary to complicate the paying out apparatus by excessive refinements. In workmanship it is an improvement on the old plan, but it still depends for safety on the working of friction-brakes and the watchfulness of the man whose duty it is to note the strain, indicated by the dynamometer, and lighten or relieve the brakes accordingly. A self-acting brake which would relieve itself would in theory be preferable; but there is so little chance of the strain, even in bad weather, approaching the breaking point (nearly eight tons) that the Company were perhaps right in trusting to the simple arrangement of brakes which they have hitherto used. The danger which it is least possible to guard against is not that which will occur in the process of submerging the cable. Let the bottom of the sea be what it may, the strain upon the cable—even when it hangs, as it may do, across a valley—can never be greater than that at which it is paid out; and this is intended always to be kept down to within two tons at the surface, and of course a less and less amount as the bottom is approached. Unless, therefore, the rope should be unlucky enough to hang itself over a veritable knife-edge of rock it is not likely to suffer much, so long as its strength remains substantially unimpaired; and if friction is not to be feared, and rust can be defied (as it certainly would be by the coating of the iron wires, so far as the action of mere water is concerned), there is no very serious danger of material deterioration in its strength. But rust and friction, and any rope as strong as the Atlantic cable will have a fair chance of lasting a very long time even over the worst ground which can be imagined at the bottom of the ocean. That the cable, even if paid out with the most liberal allowance of slack, will festoon itself here and there in the course of its track across the Atlantic is probable enough, when it is considered that at one point there is a ridge to be passed which equals in height and average declivity a respectable mountain chain such as we see in the upper world. But this is not so alarming as it seems, provided the strength of the cable can be permanently maintained. The deteriorating forces are mainly friction and rust. Friction, which has damaged many shallow-sea lines, can only arise from fluctuating currents, the existence of which is hard to imagine in the depths of the Atlantic. So long, too, as the hempen coating stands, rust is almost out of the question; and even then, with the thicker wires that are now used, it would take some time, in still and pure water, to corrode them through so as to endanger the rupture of the cable. But where there is either friction or chemical action to take off each coat of rust as it forms, an iron strand has but a very short life unless it is vastly thicker than could possibly be used in a cable long enough to cross from Ireland to America. The best protection against rust is doubtfully is very great thickness of metal, and, as the conditions of the undertaking have excluded this precaution, the only alternative was to seek in an impervious casing an equivalent safeguard. It is easy to picture the possibility of submarine insects devouring the hemp (for which they often have a decided taste), and so leaving the wires exposed at points where all their strength is required, and where, if loosened by the loss of their coating, they would be apt, even if they did not break, to cut into and damage the working core; and it might perhaps have been a wise precaution to impregnate the hemp with some poisonous compound sufficiently insoluble to remain permanently available for the destruction of such enemies of the cable. But even without this, it is reassuring to reflect that a curious combination of chances will be required to render the supposed insects really formidable. They may devour the hemp to any extent they please, if, at the point they select, the cable is lying on a flat bed, and if they will only be good enough not to eat the gutta-percha, which, so far as is known, very few marine animals are disposed to attack. A combination of hemp-eating and gutta-percha-eating animals at the bottom of the Atlantic might in course of time destroy the cable anywhere. So also the hemp-destroyers alone might do it if they were ill-advised enough to colonize some mountain ridge where the rope could not bear to be deprived of its strength. But without some such double event as this, the danger of rapid deterioration, though serious enough, may with reasonable good fortune be escaped long enough, at any rate, to make the venture a commercial success. One cable of somewhat similar construction stood for a few years in the Mediterranean, where destructive insects are perhaps more to be looked for, and it may be hoped that the additional care bestowed on the present rope will counterbalance all the special risks of the Atlantic, and insure a longer period of usefulness to the wire which is to bind together the Old and the New World. The *Great Eastern* will sail with the best wishes of two great nations; and, whatever may be their measure of success, the Directors of the Atlantic Company, and their engineering and scientific coadjutors, will long be remembered for a resolution which no misadventure could daunt, and a patient skill which has gathered from every misfortune the means of guarding against the perils of the boldest and the grandest commercial enterprise of which England can boast.

ENGLAND IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S DAY.

So rapidly were the English growing in the luxuries and vices of other lands, while they retained their native vigor and coarse habits, that the playwrights constantly alluded to the incongruity of the fashions displayed in the dress of dandies, to their language mixed of all the dialects in Europe, to their aptitude for every kind of dissipation, to their skill in the sports of all nations, and to the decay of antique severity. "We have robbed Greece of gluttony," says Stephen Gasson, "Spain of pride, France of deceit, and Dutchland of quaffing." But these affectations were only a kind of varnish on the surface of society. The incidents of court gossip show how savage was the life beneath. Queen Elizabeth spat one day in the midst of her nobles at a gentleman who displeased her. She struck Lord Essex on the cheek. Burleigh often cried at her ill-treatment. The lords wrangled, and even drew swords in her presence. Once Leicester took her handkerchief from her lap to wipe his face at tennis. Lady Jane Grey was starved and beaten by her parents, and exposed to such indignities that she wearied of life; yet they made her one of the best Greek scholars of the day. Heretics were burned in every town. Sir Henry Sidney, as we learn from a paper recently published by Mr. Froude, when sent to quell the Irish rebels, first proclaimed the queen's sovereignty, and then allowed no mercy to the recusants. He "put man, woman, and child to the sword," while his serjeant-majors balanced the advantages of pillaging or "having some killing," with a preference for the latter when they felt themselves in humor for the chase.

The belief in witches everywhere prevailed, nor was it an uncommon village sport to drown old women in the ponds, and to rack suspected wizards till for very anguish they confessed fictitious crimes. Country-folks conducted their revels with a license that would shock our modern ears. The Lord of Misrule led out his motley train, and ladies went a-Maying with their lovers to the woods. The Feasts of Asses and of Fools profaned the sanctuaries; nor were the sports of Christmas so well suited to celebrate a Christian festival as to recall the rites of Woden and of Freya. Men and women who read Plato and discussed the beauties of Petrarch's poetry, allowed the coarsest practical jokes and used the grossest language. They sold farms and forests, and wore their acres in the form of gems and gold lace on their backs. But their gems and gold lace were usually pawned, their gold solid clothes and jewels did not prevent them from indulging in the most untidy habits. They would lie upon the rushes which concealed the fragments of old feasts; and they burned perfumes to sweeten chambers mixed with bad air. The Church itself was not respected. The nave of St. Paul's was a rendezvous of thieves and prostitutes. Fine gentlemen paid sums of money for the privilege of clanking up and down its aisles in service time; dances and masques, crowding from the square outside, in all their finery, often took the sacrament, and then ran out to recommence their merriment. Men were Papists and Protestants according to the times of day; hearing mass in the morning and sermon in the afternoon. There was no [illegible] to the extravagance and incongruity of elements which prevailed in England. Yet in the [illegible] of the confusion rose cavaliers like Sidney, [illegible] like Bacon, poets like Spenser; in [illegible] pure, elevated, subtle, tender, [illegible] compared in our modern civilization, displayed itself.—*Cornhill Magazine.*

HERZWINTER.

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
So far [illegible] they should [illegible]
Ye larks, who once did greet [illegible]
To melody its pulses set,
What have I done to lose my part
In your dear song? What is my debt?
O whispering spirit of the trees!
O violet, with benignant eye!
What hath transformed you, that ye freeze
The soul once loved so passionately?
The world now lives, and seasons change,"
They said. "There was a blissful hour,
When round thy dwelling, our fields to range,
An angel with a specific power.
"Those [illegible] the stars did [illegible]
Our songs [illegible] taught that gentle voice
And [illegible]
[illegible] the joys.
"What [illegible] should [illegible]
[illegible] sweet [illegible]
But [illegible] them,
And we [illegible]
Then [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

London, Eng.

THE SPIRIT OF THE LATE REVOLT.

From the Evening Post.

It is one of the singular phenomena of the late rebellion, that the men who engaged in it were not content with simple and honorable methods of warfare, but descended to petty cruelties and mean subterfuges of malice and misrepresentation. A bad cause cast bad men to the surface, and the kindlier and honest instincts of humanity were eclipsed by a dark cloud of falsehood and deceit. There is now lying before us a little book which contains some striking illustrations of one of the paltry methods used by the rebels to sow the seeds of hatred in the soil of the South. It is an elementary school-book, entitled "A Geography for Beginners," and purports to be the production of "Rev. K. J. Stewart." Its imprint bears the address of one J. W. Randolph, Richmond, Va.; the date is 1864; the title page is adorned with a vignette representation of a palmetto tree; and beneath the latter are the words: "Palmetto Series," probably indicating a purpose to issue several more volumes of a similar kind, as full of bold lies and as unblushingly impudent as this.

The work is so neatly printed that we knew at a glance that the shabby workmanship of the South could not have produced it, although it bore a Richmond imprint; and a careful examination revealed the names of a London and Liverpool publishing firm engraved upon the accompanying map. A choice edition of this geographically curious production, happening to be seized and confiscated, has found its way to a Northern market, where its possessors will find in its pages mingled food for mirth and sorrow—mirth at the stupendous folly of the author, and sorrow for the delusion which led men of sense to display a hate so venomous.

On pages 42 and 43, Rev. K. J. Stewart informs the school children of the Southern States, for whom his "Palmetto Series" was intended, that "in 1862 the government of the Confederate States was duly established at Richmond, Va., under a constitution which had been adopted by the several States, with the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as its first President, for a term of six years; Alexander H. Stephens [?] as Vice-President. Every effort that human ingenuity could contrive, or immense resources of money and vast armaments on land and sea could accomplish, was made by the Northern government to capture the capital and other important places, and break up the political organization of the Confederacy.

"But by the continual, evident, and acknowledged aid of the God of Battles and King of Nations, these efforts have all failed; and, at vast expense of suffering and blood, the people of the Southern States have fought their way to political independence and the respect and amity of the great nations of the world. May that God who has graciously blessed their efforts keep them in His most holy faith and fear, and long secure to them the blessings of peace and prosperity!"

In order to assist the diligent learner to remember these words of wisdom, the Reverend Stewart appends to the chapter, in the usual school-book form, these questions:

"Has any one State a right to subjugate another?"

"Who sided the South?"

"Who is King of Nations?"

"Can a nation fall without His word?"

"What will happen if we forget Him?"

The reverend author having thus commingled falsehood, idle vaporing, shallow boasts, historic lore and piety in a remarkable brew, proceeds, in another place, to make a statement to the effect that

"The division of mankind into nations is as follows:

"In America:

"The Confederate States—People: Americans—language: English.

"The United States—People: Americans—language: English," etc., etc.

It was kind in Stewart to recognize the people of the United States as Americans, and still more gracious to admit that they speak English—positively pronouncing words like the people of "The Confederate States," and separated from that favored race only by a political division. This is a bright spot in the character of the reverend author, for which he deserves credit.

Section XVIII., which is embellished with a view of the old State House in North Carolina, is a discourse upon "The History of the Confederate States." In it we find a passage which records the fact that Virginia "withdrew from the United States in the year 1861" in the exercise of the "reserved right" to secede from the federation of the States at will; also, a paragraph which declares that "the first collision of the War for Independence of the Southern States occurred at Charleston in the Spring of 1861, and was occasioned by the President, elected by the citizens of the Northern States, attempting to seize, provision, and occupy the forts in Charleston harbor, and turn their guns upon the city they were designed to protect."

On page 200 we read that "the Federal government, elected by a sectional minority, attempted to subjugate the Southern States by military occupation."

There is more of this; but the specimens already given are sufficient to exhibit the ingenuity of the Reverend Stewart's scheme for poisoning the minds of the children of the South. He meant to inspire the young with a deadly hate of the North and its institutions; to instil prejudices, which, having once become rooted, it would have been difficult to eradicate—and it was through no fault of his that the effort failed of success. No sane instructor of the school-children of the Free States would devise a revenge so pitiful, or descend to a display of malice so petty. We can afford to laugh at the Reverend Stewart and wish him more sense; but his literary performance in behalf of the rising generation of that slavocracy which was to be and is not, is none the less a disgrace to him.

The *Saturday Review* contains a piquant notice of Roger Bontemps, which is a moral French romance. The *Review* says:

"There is nothing more interesting than to watch a French novelist addressing himself to the Herculean task of writing a novel which is not to be immoral.

"But Paul Feval in his last novel 'Roger Bontemps' has accomplished the feat, and, like an expert literary Blondin, has traveled several young French peasants of both sexes—including, strange as it may seem, a married French Countess—across four hundred and thirty printed pages without a single accident. His plan for getting them safely over is a simple one. He has gone upon the principle, adopted in some churches of the present day, of dividing the sexes. They all travel a good deal, but none of them travel in company. For fear that this should not be sufficient, he has kept them from first to last upon the move, and in imminent danger of their lives. Lastly, lest, in spite of all these precautions, the decorum of the story should seem likely improbable, the scene is laid chiefly in Australia, among thrilling incidents of bush life, and hair-breadth escapes of the most exciting description."

The Chicago *Journal* of the 19th, in an article welcoming Gen. Grant, says: "Over the door of an humble saddlery in Galena, Illinois, there hangs a sign with the inscription 'Grant & Son.' To that Son,"—the chief, welcome, and all hail! The Lieutenant-General was the 'son. The senior member of the firm resides in Covington, and the junior will visit him on his way back to Washington, if public business is not particularly urgent."

"In one sense, the greatest man of a nation are those whom it puts to death. Socrates was the glory of Athens, which judged itself unable to live with

A PROSE TUPPER.

From the London [illegible]. [illegible] the Author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson." (Longman [illegible])

"To each age, says the Koran, is given its own prophet speaking in its own tongue. We rejoice in our Tupper, the laureate of commonplaces. He sings platitudes in verse, and A. K. H. B. in prose; so then we are better off than the Koran contemplated. Both are great in their different ways of quiet imbecility. Tupper is flowery and tinselly, A. K. H. B. plain and simple. In fact, Tupper is the butterfly and A. K. H. B. the grub. Comparisons should not be instituted lightly between great men; and it is quite worth while to see by what process the prosaic grub becomes changed into the beautiful but rather artificial [illegible] fly. Nothing can be simpler. For instance, a [illegible] piece of wisdom from A. K. H. B.: "[illegible] of offence should make you rejoice that your fellow-creature was saved." ("Recreations of a Country Parson," p. 93.) This is the rough thought in its grub-like state. Behold the change. In Tupper it would expand into something of this sort:

Rejoice rather at the hanging of a man: for the hemp may be growing for you:
Each death is a sacrifice, and [illegible] the darkness.

This would be the Tupperian style, so near as we can approach to Tupperian art. Under its treatment the baldness entirely disappears, and is replaced by an effectation of sense. Again, in his own plain, simple way, A. K. H. B. writes: "It is good occasionally to rise at five on a December morning, that you may feel how much you owe to, and be disposed to so much do for, your sake all the winter through." (As before, p. 243.) This sublime truth may be easily rendered into Tupperics in some such fashion as the following:

Pleasant indeed is sleep: but damp sheets always give me catarrh:

Dreams are a caution, but rising at five glareth the heart.

Or, to take another example of A. K. H. B.'s aphoristic wisdom: "It is better to be the warm, trembling, foreboding human being than to be Ben Nevis, knowing nothing, feeling nothing, fearing nothing, cold and lifeless." (As before, p. 268.) The analogous Tupperism for this would naturally be:

Better a fool than a clod, and better a clod than a stone:

Better a mouse than a mountain, even though it be christened Ben.

Here our comparisons between these two writers must cease. We simply wish to indicate the general position in literature which A. K. H. B. rightfully holds by his former productions. Tupper, however, it must be allowed, enjoys a considerable advantage over his rival. Nobody expects actual meaning in verse, but prose must now and then have some lucid intervals. Throughout most of his volumes A. K. H. B. however, had fully reached the Tupperian standard of imbecility. Of the various essays we will only say that their style is egotistical, their religion evangelical, and their humor Scotch, which means that they have neither religion nor humor. They are generally headed "Concerning," and the heaviest ones are called "Graver." Here and there italics and capital letters stand as substitutes for ideas. In short, A. K. H. B. has nothing to say, and he says it very badly.

In the volume, however, before us, A. K. H. B. is in the position of Juvenal's Codrus. He formerly had nothing, but now he has even lost that nothing.

Nil habuit Codrus: quis enim negat? et tamen illud Perdidit infelix totum nihil.

After this, the wonder is how Codrus existed.—And the modern wonder is how A. K. H. B.'s books exist. But just as the brain may be removed from a tortoise, and the animal will still live, so too, without brains, will certain books live. The arts of the publisher and the circulating library keep them in motion. Their life, however, is purely mechanical, and consists in being lifted from shelf to shelf.—How far A. K. H. B. is fitted for the office of a critic his own words shall testify:

"For myself, I confess with shame—and I know the reason is in myself—I cannot for my life see anything to admire in the writings of Mr. Carlyle. His true style, both of thought and language, is to me insufferably irritating. I tried to read the 'Sartor Resartus,' and could not do it. So if all people who have learned to read English were like me, Mr. Carlyle would have no readers. Happily, the majority in most cases possesses the normal taste. At least, there is no further appeal than to the deliberate judgment of the majority of educated men. I confess further that I would rather read Mr. Helps than Milton. I do not say that I think Mr. Helps the greater man, but I feel that he suits me better. I value the 'Autocrat of the Breakfast Table' more highly than all the writings of Shelley put together." ("Leisure Hours in Town," pp. 174, 175.)

Here according to A. K. H. B.'s own showing, are whole fields of literature into which he is unable to enter; here are thoughts which are fast altering the whole order of things, which he owns that he cannot understand. What right, therefore, has he to come forward as a critic? Upon what grounds can his judgments stand? Is he the man who cannot appreciate Carlyle, Milton, and Shelley, likely to be just in his verdicts? What can he know of either spiritualism or humor who cannot read the "Sartor Resartus," what even of prose who lowers Milton to Mr. Helps's level; and what of poetry who sneers at Shelley? Again, take the following simple-minded confession:

"In literature, unlike law, a man frequently begins by judging others before he tries to do anything for himself. He begins by being a judge; and if he is tolerably successful as a judge, he is advanced (so to speak) to practice at the bar. A young and inexperienced writer in a magazine is, for the most part, set to review books written generally by much older and wiser men than himself. If he do this tolerably well, he is, by-and-bye, advanced to the writing of original articles. It was so with me." (Preface to the "Critical Essays.")

This is indeed the bane and curse of literature at the present day, that young and inexperienced writers are allowed to sit in judgment on their betters, and to write on subjects which they have not studied. We we will take leave to observe that the requirements of a critic are at the least wide culture, an acquaintance with books and men, and an independence of mind, and not sparently a total ignorance of all things under the sun. After this declaration of A. K. H. B.'s, we are prepared for anything, even for the insinuation that Archbishop Whately nearest of all men resembled Bacon in his mental characteristics. The Essays themselves we shall not take the trouble to review. We might as well criticize so much penny-a-lining. To one thing only we will call attention, the increasing tone of vulgarity in our literature. In every direction it has spread. It infests our periodical essays and poisons our novels. Thus A. K. H. B. writes: "The attendant placed above us a feather bed, cut out to fit about the head, and stretched no end of blankets over all." (P. 399.) Again, "by eight o'clock breakfast was on the table in the large hall, where it remained till half past nine. Bread, milk, water, and stewed pippins (cold) formed the morning meal. And didn't we polish it off?" (P. 401). The fault, however, is not here so conspicuous as in some of his previous volumes, where he actually thinks it decent to christen people with such a name as "Snooks." For this reason, we prefer these critical essays to their predecessors, but the highest praise we can give them is, that in these days of excitement and turmoil A. K. H. B. has kindly provided mankind with a new narcotic.

Got him.—Mr. Rogers of Milford, a member of the Connecticut House of Representatives, said in a speech on the proposed Amendment to the Constitution, striking out the word "white," that there were quite a number of negroes in his town, but he did not know, and never had heard of one who was a passable mechanic. Mr. Thomas Peterson of Milford, a colored man, objects to this declaration, and writes to the New Haven *Palladium* as follows:

"Mr. Rogers was 'brought up' a carriage painter, and, I believe, was called a 'passable mechanic' on ornamental carriage painting, which is the business I work at; and although I never served any regular apprenticeship at the business, and what I know I have learned myself, yet I will, and do challenge Mr. Rogers to work with me on any ornamental striping, or fancy carriage painting, the work to be submitted to the judgment and decision of Messrs. Hubbell & Height of Bridgeport, at whose carriage manufactory I now work, doing their ornamental painting, etc. When Mr. Rogers is ready to try his skill with me, I shall be most happy to show him what one of the 'despised race' can do."

Weathercocks on Churches.—Vanes on the tops of steeples were anciently made in the form of a cock (called from hence weather-cocks) and put up in papal times to remind the clergy of watchfulness. "The following is from "A Helpe to Discourse," printed in 1633: "*Q.*—Wherefore on the top of church steeples is the cocke set upon the crosse of a long continuance? *A.*—The flocke of Jesuits will answer you for instruction that whilst we are we behold the crosse, and the cocke standing thereon, we may remember our sinnes, and with Peter seeke and obtaine mercy; as though without this dumbe cocke, which many will not hearken to until he crow, the Scriptures were not a sufficient alarum."

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

MERCY TO THE MERCILESS.

Think not by exercise of wrath
Against a fallen foe,
That we shall serve the cause of [illegible]
Or thereon stronger grow.

Are they not smitten to the dust,
They once so proud, and base
And shall we imitate the ways
Of such a wicked race?

Rather, though undeserved, give them
That mercy they denied,
And thus once truly overthrow
Their hatred and their pride.

Let us show them that Northern minds,
Trained up in Freedom's schools,
Have [illegible] barbarian laws,
And Slavery's [illegible] rules.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] these [illegible] hour
[illegible]
But [illegible]
[illegible]

O! least so [illegible]
That spirit fallen once;
And fear not that will be meted out
To each his portion due.

Forgetting not to make amends
The work we've taken in hand,
To break the chains of slavery
And make this Freedom's land.

To take the [illegible]
Left for us to perform;
And that which then we said declared
Let us put into form.

Leave not the least of these to be seen,
That crushed the bleeding slave,
That sought our liberties to steal,
And thus dig Freedom's grave.

Give to the Freedmen every right,
That we ourselves hold dear;
And trusting in the God of might,
We shall have nought to fear.

New Bedford, June 6, 1865. D. B.

OWNERSHIP OF LOST OR STOLEN BONDS.

From the Evening Post.

At the present time, when many thousands of our patriotic and thrifty citizens are investing their savings and accumulations in the "seven-thirties," "five-twenties," and other securities of the government, the question of their safe-keeping becomes an important consideration. If bonds are not carefully kept, they become exceedingly liable to be lost; and there is always the peril of thieves. If lost, whether stolen or otherwise, it is almost impossible to recover their value. The fact that such a loss or theft has been publicly announced, and that payment has been stopped, is no notice to a future purchaser, unless it can be proved that he had previously received the notice, and knew that it related particularly to what he was buying. The experience of bondholders who have recently tested this matter in the courts ought to be a sufficient warning.

Bank notes, coupons, and other obligations made payable to the bearer, and technically known as "negotiable paper"—the ownership of which, like that of coin, is transferable from one person to another by delivery only—come directly under the same rule as coin, which, having been paid away fairly upon a valuable consideration, cannot be reclaimed.

The possession of such paper, under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, carries the title with it to the holder; possession and title being one and inseparable. The person who takes it in good faith for a valuable consideration, without knowing any defect of title, "holds it by a title valid as against all the world." Sweeping as this may appear, the rule is imperatively necessary. These securities are found in all the channels of commerce, and represent a large part of the wealth of the commercial world. The public good requires that their currency should be established and secured. Having been introduced in trade and commerce, and passing current from hand to hand, as representatives of value by delivery only, they must be treated precisely like money.

It may be argued that it is a rule of the common law that no one can acquire title to a personal chattel from an individual having no title to it, except by open sale in the market, as by an auctioneer; as for example, that a thief cannot give, or a purchaser receive from him, a title to goods which had been stolen, so that the owner would be able to reclaim them upon identification. But it was decided in England by Lord Mansfield in 1757, that this rule does not apply to bank notes; and the Supreme Court of the United States has made several decisions including bonds and other negotiable paper in the same category.

The only debatable question is that of good faith, whether the negotiable paper has been purchased for full value or in the usual course of business, or whether there is guilty knowledge or wilful ignorance of the fact that the instrument has been stolen from the original owner or lost by him, so that the person selling it is or may readily be known to have no right to do so. And, as everybody is aware in the event that such a question should arise, it depends upon the person who makes the charge to prove it before the title of the person having the article in possession can be affected. Suspicion, or the knowledge of circumstances well calculated to excite suspicion, or even gross negligence on the part of the buyer at the time of the transfer, is not sufficient to impair his title. Bad faith on his part can alone do this.

The attention of our leading men of business has been particularly called to this subject, and a pamphlet is published by the authority of the New York Stock Exchange, collating the decisions of different judges upon the subject, showing that the principle here set forth has been fairly established. The rule applies especially to coupon bonds made payable to the bearer, whether issued by the government of the United States, a local municipality or other corporation. The holder must rely upon his own forethought and watchfulness to keep them in secure possession, and not hope that when the burglar, or pickpocket, or even a finder, shall have obtained them, he will be able to insure himself against loss by stopping their payment at the office of issue or place of redemption, or even to prevent them from being negotiated. Only so far as he preserves them by his own vigilance can he reckon upon their safety.

Sidney Smith on English Taxation.—Taxes upon every article which enters the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot—taxes upon everything which is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste—taxes upon warmth, light and locomotion, —taxes on everything on earth, and the waters under the earth—taxes on the sauce which pampers the rich man's appetite, and the drug which restores him to health—on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal—on the poor man's salt, and the rich man's spice—on the brass nails of the coffin, the ribbons of the bride—at bed or board, couchant and levant, we must pay. The school boy whips his taxed top—the beardless youth manages a taxed horse, with a taxed bridle on a taxed road—the dying Englishman pouring his medicine, which has paid 7 per cent. into a spoon that has paid 15 per cent.—flings himself back upon his chintz bed, which has paid 22 per cent.—and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death. Taxation follows him to the grave when his head-stone is assessed, and then, it takes a slice of his worldly estate. Let our people pay their debts and discharge the tax-gatherer as soon as they can.

At the recent anniversary of "The American and Foreign Anti-Tobacco Society," in Boston, the Rev. Mr. Trask, of Fitchburg, gave it as his opinion that there had been a decrease among tobacco-raisers in the Connecticut valley; that smoky piety was decreasing; and that the time was coming when a Christian gentleman would no more appear on the highway with a cigar than he would hold slaves.

[At present we [illegible] "Christian gentlemen" who glory [illegible] long for a return to the Egyptian leeks and onions of the slave plantation.]

DESCRIPTION OF THE DANTE STATUE AT FLORENCE.

The best description yet published of the new statue of Dante at Florence is the following from the correspondent of the London Morning Star:

"If the statue be considered abstracted from the associations of local associations and personality, it is grand work, and, in Schiller's term, 'presents the master.' It is of colossal dimensions—five [illegible] sixty-eight centimetres high, the pedestal [illegible] six additional metres to the total height of the monument. The figure, we are informed on authority, is in the attitude of generous scorn [illegible] by noble ire at being banished unjustly, [illegible] and at the same time sorrowful at the sight of his country torn by internal factions and at the [illegible] of a potent hand to burst the chains of [illegible] misery.' The right hand holds the [illegible] book of his life; the left is clenched, keeping [illegible] lifted the while as the foot is firm, and [illegible] set against his breast as if to cover [illegible] press 'the outburst of the indignant [illegible] which he is laboring.' A Roman eagle, on [illegible] stands behind and looks up inquiringly [illegible] whose sternly defiant head, crowned with [illegible] is turned against the Casa Peruzzi, as if the [illegible] of his wrath were hiding there. I wonder [illegible] Messer Ubaldino and the Donna Sassa [illegible] any of their faces since that regard of suspicion [illegible] scorn is fixed on the house they live in.

"The pedestal is by Signor Luigi Del Sarto, [illegible] to the community. It is in the fourteenth century style, square, with blunted corners, the base decidedly octangular. Four lions, which on it are over the shields which have titles of the four principal works among Dante's minor ones. Each title is wreathed differently, [illegible] archy rejoicing in oak leaves; Festivals in [illegible] the New Life in laurel, and Popular [illegible] various flowers. If this basement were to be [illegible] it is, I would describe also its other decorations in order of their collocation; but the work [illegible] made for the occasion in plaster, there being no time for its completion in marble, as it is [illegible] the statue receives the *fantasia*. Hence, [illegible] out going into minute details, I merely [illegible] more characteristic parts of the ornamentation upon which the poet is standing.

"Firstly, there is a border of arms representing the principal cities of Italia, with Rome [illegible] and in the midst, similar posts of central [illegible] ing allotted on the opposite and lateral [illegible] in, Naples, Milan, thanks to each by sisters [illegible] fame and importance. All the cities thus [illegible] should have paid for their 'reserved seats' [illegible] handsome contributions towards the erection of the monument. Next to be noticed are four bassi-rilievi in color, which, of course, must vanish, and perhaps won't reappear again in the [illegible] form. They represent Dante—first, reposing, the wild beasts of the 'inferno' (Canto I.); [illegible] reading 'Purgatory'; third, entering the [illegible] tion of Twins (Par. c. XXII.), in memory of his birthday, which came under that heavenly [illegible] of the sun; fourth, meeting with Manfredi in 'Purgatory' (Canto III.). The summit of the [illegible] bears the following inscription: '*A Dante [illegible] L'Italia, MDCCCLXV.*'"

Mrs. L. H. Sigourney.—This estimable [illegible] on Saturday, June 10, in Hartford, after a long illness. She was born at Norwich on the 1st [illegible] tember, 1781, and was consequently in [illegible] year. During the quarter of a century ending, perhaps, somewhere about 1850, her name was widely known, and, in either hemisphere, than any other American authoress. Latterly her [illegible] has given place, in most libraries, to that of a modern and varied school, though it will [illegible] wholly superseded. She was early addicted to verse-making, possessed a temperament [illegible] while it never marred her sound and sober sense, was nevertheless keenly susceptible to the beauties and subtile influence of nature. [illegible] moved to this city in 1814, where she opened a school for young ladies, and where her gentle [illegible] and many lady-like and christian graces attracted the notice and engaged the personal interest of the late Daniel Wadsworth, a gentleman whose artistic and literary taste was [illegible] equalled by his pecuniary means; and by means of introducing her to the public, in a [illegible] of "Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse." Miss Huntley became the second wife of [illegible] Sigourney, a well-known merchant of the city, and since that time, while engaged in domestic affairs of rearing a family of children [illegible] time to contribute largely to the serious [illegible] of the country, both in prose and verse. [illegible] lished works, in all, number nearly fifty. [illegible] her prose is marked by vigor, beauty, [illegible] sense, and, like her poetry, is full of good precepts.

At home she was best known and loved [illegible] domestic virtues and her rare neighborly [illegible] friendly kindness. Her heart and purse [illegible] open to all good works of philanthropy and [illegible] ity; and she had a host of friends and [illegible] enemy. Many will miss her kindly, genial presence, her active sympathy and her large charities.—*Hartford Courant.*

Tuscan Hats.—The hats and bonnets [illegible] d'Italie which enjoy such favor in the fashionable world, are all manufactured in Tuscany, [illegible] according to official returns, their annual value [illegible] eleven million francs. Tuscany is the only part of Italy which produces straw fine enough [illegible] bonnets, and the finest of all is grown in the immediate vicinity of Florence. The attempts [illegible] grow the same straw in the Marches, Rome, [illegible] Naples have met with little success. The [illegible] the produce of a particular kind of wheat, the [illegible] of which never exceed 15 or 16 inches in height [illegible] bear very small ears, containing just enough [illegible] for re-sowing. All the women in the [illegible] straw-plaiters, and the finest specimens of [illegible] are frequently seen in the hats worn by the [illegible] women, who have made them for their own [illegible] refuse to sell them at any price. The [illegible] joining of the plait is a difficult and tedious [illegible] tion, as a hat to be perfect must seem to be [illegible] piece. At Florence the number of hats [illegible] yearly is about 530,000. In certain localities, [illegible] Impoli, for instance, 4,000 women and girls [illegible] ployed at this work, and at Sesto there are [illegible] 2,000.

In the United States there are 53 religious [illegible] Amongst them are 10 different kinds of Baptists, [illegible] of Methodists, 13 of Presbyterians, and 9 of [illegible] The Baptists number 1,724,373 members or communicants, and the Methodists 1,651,7[illegible] number confessing the Roman Catholic persuasion 3,177,140. The Baptists are divided into [illegible] having curious sects, viz., regular, anti-[illegible] seventhday, six-principle, freewill, river-[illegible] winebrennarians, dunkers, mennonites, and [illegible] bellites. The Quakers are divided into [illegible] and Hicksite.

[Pray as far as it goes. But how about Wilbor[illegible] negroes, and Progressive Friends, among the [illegible] of the sect last named.]

White Slavery in England.—The Earl of [illegible] tesbury, in the House of Lords, has stated [illegible] of the eastern counties "drivers" hire children both sexes from their parents, and then [illegible] their labor to the farmers at so much per [illegible] acre. "Many of the 'undertakers' or 'gang[illegible]' are persons of very drunken and dissipated [illegible] and their treatment of the children was [illegible] cruel"—that is to say, they have the [illegible] pensities of slave-drivers. The bishops [illegible] bear testimony to the fearful damage [illegible] results from these children gangs. [illegible] to redress the great abuse.

I remember in that night of blackness [illegible] at Chantilly, a young aide—a mere youth, [illegible] —rode up to Kearny and said, "Colonel [illegible] ports for orders." "Tell Colonel Poe to [illegible] to the front, and form line on the right [illegible] "Yes, sir," said the aid, and started to [illegible] "Stop, boy," cried Kearny, "do you know [illegible] *on échoue* means?" "Yes, sir," it meant [illegible] pair of stairs, sir." "Ah, ha! that's [illegible] ahead," and the aid vanished into the [illegible] *Army Letter.*

In one of the courts in Connecticut, [illegible] woman was testifying in behalf of her [illegible] swore that he had worked on a farm ever [illegible] was born. The lawyer who cross-examined [illegible] said "you assert that your son has worked [illegible] farm ever since he was born?" "I do," [illegible] did he do the first year?" He milked," [illegible] plied. The [illegible] heartily.

Prentice [illegible] if Martin [illegible] doesn't stop [illegible] United States, Prentice [illegible] thority for demanding him [illegible] for punishment!

Douglas Jerrold once used to [illegible]

Mrs. [illegible] lady in Henry County, Missou-